THE CELTIC REVIEW

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THE CELTIC REVIEW

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader,	*Julius Pokorny, Ph.D., (Vienna),*	267
Alexander Carmichael, LL.D.; Our Interpreter,	*Kenneth Macleod,*	112
An Comunn Gaidhealach,		95
An Old Inventory of the Laird of Coll's Writs,	*Niall D. Campbell,*	97
Argyllshire Clans,	*Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair,*	334
Children's Rimes,	*From the MSS. of the late Rev. Father Allan Macdonald,*	166
Crede's Lament for Cael,	*John M. Paterson,*	295
Deirdre—The Highest Type of Celtic Womanhood,	*Miss A. C. Macdonell,*	347
Dr. Haverfield and the Saxon Advent in Britain,	*Alfred Anscombe,*	251
Ewen Maclachlan and Inverness Royal Academy,	*Evan M. Barron,*	22
From the Vision of Mac Conglinne,	*Versified by Alfred Percival Graves,*	49
Fulacht na Morrigna,	*Professor Mackinnon,*	74
Gildas and Arthur,	*A. O. Anderson, M.A.,*	149

PAGE

Grannie's Baking, . . . *Donald A. Mackenzie,* . 234

MacBain's Etymological Dictionary, ... 192

Marbhrann do Alasdair Macghillemhicheil, Ughdar Carmina Gadelica, ... *Alasdair Camshron,* . 249

Notes, ... 288, 365

Note on Musical Instruments in Gaelic Folk-Tales, . . *Kenneth MacLeod,* . 341

Reviews of Books:

An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language (*reviewed by C. M. R.*); Miss Tolmie's Collection of Gaelic Music: The English Folk-Lore Journal (*reviewed by M. N. M.*); Songs of the Irish Harpers (*reviewed by M. N. M.*); Monumenta Historica Celtica (*reviewed by W. J. Watson*); A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland (*reviewed by W. J. Watson*); Orain Ghaidhealach le Donnchadh Macantsaoir (*reviewed by W. J. Watson*); The Book of Highland Verse: An English Anthology (*reviewed by D. M.*); Welsh Poetry, Old and New, in English Verse (*reviewed by H. Idris Bell*); Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie; The Revue Celtique (*reviewed by W. J. Watson*); The Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan (*reviewed by Don. Mackinnon*); Teutontic Myth and Legend (*reviewed by D. M'C.*); Sea Tangle (*reviewed by M. N. Munro*); Songs of the Mountain and the Burn; Buile Suibhne: The Adventures of Suibhne Geilt; The Poem-Book of the Gael: Translations from Irish Gaelic into English Prose and Verse; The Celtic Annual: Year-Book of the Dundee Highland Society; Gadelica: A Journal of Modern Irish Studies, 76, 189, 255, 356

The British Race and Kingdom in Scotland, ... *James Ferguson, K.C.,* 170, 193

The Clan Chattan, . . . *Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair,* 1

The Executioner of John the Baptist, ... *Professor Mackinnon,* . 168

		PAGE
The Gaelic Version of the Thebaid of Statius, . . .	*Professor Mackinnon,*	8, 100, 218, 296
The House of the Dwarfs, . .	*David MacRitchie,*	. 289
The Literature of the Scottish Gael,	*Rev. Donald Maclean,*	51, 129
The Rev. George Henderson, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., . . .	*Professor Mackinnon,*	. 245
Topographical Varia—VI., .	*W. J. Watson, LL.D.,*	. 235
Traditions of the Land of Lorne and the Highland Ancestry of Robert Burns, . . .	*The Late Alexander Carmichael, LL.D.,*	. . 314

THE CELTIC REVIEW

APRIL 1912

THE CLAN CHATTAN

Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair

The Old Clan Chattan

Gillecattan was born sometime between 900 and 950 A.D. He was the son of Gallbrait, son of Diarmad the Lector. His successors in the line of descent were as follows: Nectan, Seth, Suibhne, Muireach, Donald, Malcolm, Gilchrist, Ferchar and Seth. Donald, son of Muireach, was born about the year 1120, and was known as an Caimhghille. Caimh stands for Caemh or Coimh, gentle, handsome, or else for camh, strong, powerful. Gille means a young man. Donald was probably both strong and handsome. He was chief of the Clan Chattan, and the progenitor of Clann a Chaimhghille, which would be known in English as the Clan Chewill or Clan Kevill. Donald had two sons, Gillemoluaig and Malcolm. Gillemoluaig and Seth, son of Malcolm, appear on record between 1224 and 1233. They were living in Badenoch, on lands which belonged to the Bishop of Moray. Seth, son of Ferchar, son of Gilchrist, son of Malcolm, had two sons, Ferchar and Leod. Ferchar, son of Seth, was succeeded by his son Seth, who died before the year 1338, and was buried at Dalnafert. Seth, son of Leod, had a son named Suibhne, and probably a son named John. Lachlan, son of Suibhne, was born about 1360, and was chief of the old Clan Chattan, or Clan Chewill, in

1385, the year about which the Skene Manuscript was written.

In 1390 we find Slurach and the whole Clan Chewill charged with taking part with Stewarts, Duncansons, and others in making a raid into the Braes of Angus, and slaying Sir Walter Ogilvy and sixty of his followers in a skirmish which took place. Sir Walter was sheriff of Angus, and was trying to drive the invaders away. Slurach is a misreading for Muirach. There never was such a name as Slurach.

Whilst Lachlan, son of Suibhne, was nominal chief of the clan Chewill in 1390, Muireach, who was probably a brother of Lachlan, was their fighting leader and their real chief. Lachlan married a daughter of Lord Lovat, and had by her Ferchar and Margaret. He died in 1407. Ferchar, his son, was born probably about 1390. Ferchar married a daughter of the laird of Innes, and had Duncan and other children. He died in 1417.

The Clan Vuirich

I. Muireach, the Slurach of 1396, was born about 1365. He was a man of ability and energy, and qualified for leading a clan in the rough days in which he lived. He was the progenitor of the Clan Vuirich, who are just the Clan Chewill under a new name.

II. Duncan, who was probably the second or third son of Muireach, studied for the Church, and was known as Duncan Person or Parson. He was unquestionably a man of ability and determination. He was with the Lord of the Isles in Lochaber, when the latter was attacked and defeated by James I. in 1429, and was taken prisoner. He was then chief of the Clan Chewill, and was probably the only lawful son of his father left alive. He was confined in Tantallon Castle in 1431, and had for companions Alexander, Lord of the Isles, Lachlan Bronnach Maclean of Duart, Torquil Macneill of Gigha, and Terlach MacFerchar. Lachlan Bronnach's father and Alexander of the Isles were

first cousins. Torquil Macneill was by origin a Maclean, and was related to Lachlan Bronnach. Terlach MacFerchar was chieftain of the Macleans of Urquhart and was also related to Lachlan Bronnach. Duncan Parson was related to Terlach Mac Ferchar.

It may be regarded as certain that when Duncan Parson found himself in the position of chief of the Clan Chewill he ceased to act as priest. He took as his wife Isabel, daughter of Ferchar, son of Lachlan Mackintosh, the chief who died in 1407, and had by her two sons, Ewen Ban his successor and Bean of Brin, who appears on record in 1490.

III. Ewen Ban was born about 1430. He was married and had three sons, Kenneth, John and Gillies.

IV. Kenneth, son of Ewen Ban, had two sons, Duncan and Donald.

V. Duncan, son of Kenneth, succeeded his father in Cluny.

VI. Andrew, son of Duncan, was born about 1520. He appears on record as tenant in Cluny in 1591 and 1603.

VII. Ewen, son of Andrew, had two sons, Andrew and John of Nuide.

Andrew, son of Ewen, was born about 1575, and fought at the battle of Glenlivet in 1594. He appears on record as laird of Cluny in 1609. Ewen Og, son of Andrew, was born probably about 1610. He married Ann, daughter of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, in 1641. He joined Montrose in 1645 with three hundred men of his own kin, and distinguished himself as a brave and loyal warrior. He remained with Montrose whilst the war continued. He died in 1647, leaving two sons, Andrew and Duncan. His father survived him about three years. Andrew, elder son of Ewen Og, succeeded his father in Cluny, and his grandfather in the chiefship of the clan Vuirich. He died in 1672, and was succeeded by his brother Duncan, who died without male issue in 1722.

VIII. John of Nuide was married in 1613, and appears on record as a cautioner or surety in 1641.

IX. Donald, son of John, received a charter of Nuide in 1643.

X. Ewen, son of Donald, succeeded his father in Nuide. He married a daughter of Lachlan Macpherson of Kinrara.

XI. Lachlan, son of Ewen, succeeded his father in Nuide. He succeeded Duncan of Cluny, both in Cluny and the chiefship of the Macphersons in 1722. He married Jean, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and had by her Ewen his successor. He died in 1746.

XII. Ewen of Cluny joined Prince Charles in 1745. He was a strong and active man. He married a daughter of Lord Lovat, and had by her Duncan his heir. He succeeded in getting out of the land of King George and the Duke of Cumberland in 1755. He died at Dunkirk in 1756. Duncan, his successor, was born in 1750 in a kiln for drying grain, the Georgites having burnt his father's house.

Between 1450 and 1500 the descendants of Muireach, father of Duncan Parson, began to call themselves Macvurichs in Gaelic and Macphersons in English. On the roll of clans in 1594, we find the Clan Chattan, Clan Chewill, Clan Chamron, Macinphersons, Grants, and others. In 1645 the gallant Ewen Og made the Macphersons famous in Scotland as a fighting clan. Shortly afterwards the Mackevils, or the Clan Chewill, quietly passed out of sight. What became of them ? They just made Macphersons of themselves.

The New Clan Chattan

The new Clan Chattan or Mackintoshes are a branch of the old Clan Chattan. They are descended from Seth, son of Gilchrist, son of Aigcol, son of Ewen, great-grandson of Neil, a descendant of Gillecattan.

I. Seth, son of Gilchrist, was born about the year 1170. His descendants would be known in Gaelic as Clann Sheath

or Sheagh, and in English as Clan Hay or Hah. Shaw as a Highland name has no connection in meaning with the English name Shaw; it is simply an Anglicised form of Seth.

As it may seem impossible to those who cannot read Gaelic to get Hay or Hah out of Sheath or Sheagh, I may state that, so far as sound is concerned, *sh* and *th* in Gaelic are simply *h*, that *ea* is sounded like *e* in met, and that *gh* is sounded almost like *y* in English.

II. Ferchar, son of Seth, was toiseach or seneschal of Baidenach, and appears on record as a witness in 1234. He had two sons, Seth and Gillemichael. Seth was succeeded by his son Ferchar. Seth, son of Ferchar lived at Dalnafert, and died sometime before the year 1338.

III. Gillemichael, son of Ferchar, had two sons, Ferchar and William. Ferchar was killed about 1271. He left a son named Angus.

IV. William, second son of Gillemichael, was succeeded by his son Ferchar.

V. Ferchar, son of William, had William and other sons.

VI. William, son of Ferchar, succeeded his father as toiseach of Badenach. He had three sons, Ferchar, William, and Donald. Ferchar was molesting the bishop of Aberdeen in 1382, possibly by taking away some of the cattle and sheep on the bishop's lands, and, fortunately for those who take an interest in clan history, got his name put on record. He is described as Ferchar Mac Toschy or Ferchar, son of the Toiseach. He had a daughter who was married to Terlach Maclean in Glen Urquhart, eldest son of Hector Reaganach of Lochbuie. Terlach and his wife had three children, Ferchar and two daughters. One of the daughters was married to Rory Macneil of Barra. The other daughter was the mother of Donald, first Maclean of Ardgour. Thus, then, the Macneils of Barra and the Macleans of Ardgour are both descended from the fiery Ferchar MacToschy. I often read in Skene's *Celtic Scotland* about Ferchar and his doings; but I never knew until I

was writing this article that I am one of his descendants. Such, however, must be the case, for I am certainly descended from Donald of Ardgour.

VII. William, second son of William, son of Ferchar, succeeded his father in the line of descent. He handfasted with Renilda, daughter of Donald Dubh MacEwan vic Donald vic Gillony, and had by her two sons, Angus and Donald. He married, first, Florence, daughter of the thane of Calder, and had by her Lachlan and Mora. He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Rory Mor Macleod of Lewis by a daughter of the Lord of the Isles, and had by her Malcolm Beg and four daughters.

VIII. Lachlan succeeded his father as chief of the Clan Hay or Macintoshes. He married Agnes, daughter of Fraser of Lovat, and had by her Ferchar and Margaret. He died in 1407. Ferchar was probably only seventeen or eighteen years of age when his father died. He married Egidia Innes, and had by her Duncan, Malcolm, Ferchar, and a daughter.

IX. Malcolm Beg, second son of William, son of William, was born about 1385. He was an able, energetic, and shrewd man. He was elected chief of the Macintoshes in 1409. He commanded the left wing of the army of the Lord of the Isles at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, the right wing being in charge of Hector Roy Maclean of Duart. He supported King James against the Lord of the Isles in 1429, and thus won the king's favour. He obtained a lease of the barony of Moy in 1437, and a heritable right to Rait and Geddes in 1442. He received a charter of a number of lands in Lochaber in 1443, and a charter of the bailliary of Lochaber in 1447. He married Mora, daughter of Macdonald of Moydart, and by her had Duncan, Lachlan Badenach, Allan and Malcolm. He died in 1457.

X. Duncan, son of Malcolm Beg, married Florence, daughter of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and had by her Ferchar his successor. He appears in a bond of friendship

written in 1467 as Duncan Macintosh, chief and captain of the Clan Chattan. He died in 1496. He was not chief of all the Clan Chattan; he was chief only of the Macintoshes, or new Clan Chattan.

Correction

In an article published in this *Review* in July 1906, I held that the combatants on the North Inch of Perth in 1396 were the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron. I have given up that view, and have come to the conclusion that the combatants were the Clan Chewill and the Clan Heth. The chiefs of the Clan Chewill or Old Clan Chattan, had been captains of the Clan Chattan, and desired to remain captains; whilst the chiefs of the Clan Heth, or New Clan Chattan, wanted to oust them and get the captaincy of the Clan Chattan for themselves. The object of the fight on the North Inch was, from the point of view of the combatants, to settle the dispute about the captaincy of the Clan Chattan. From the king's point of view, however, its object was to punish the Clan Chewill and the Clan Heth for their past raids, robberies, and slaughters, and to lead them to refrain for the future from molesting their fellow-men. In the raid made by the Clan Chewill and others into the Braes of Angus in 1390 there were sixty persons slain. In the fight on the North Inch of Perth in 1396 there were sixty persons present whose business it was to kill one another.

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(*Continued from page* 335)

GAELIC TEXT

Cid tra acht ua fograch fraigthi ua firmainti re muirn acus re mor-mesci na milead ac ol is in [1] tig sin.[1] Acus ba h-adbal re innisin comrada ciuine cosnomacha na n-ingen n-Grecda n-gruad-solus ac ol acus (ac) aibnius is in tig sin. Acus ro bid gach bean builid brat-chorcar ac bibsugud acus (ac) bansigud re h-ingenaib ailli Adraist and sin, comad ludaiti [2] ecla acus uruaman na fer cuanna coimithech [3] sin orro. Acus is and sin tangadar reompo na h-ingena nua-glana narecha gle-gela gruad-corcra .*i.* Argía acus Déifilen. Acus co snigtis frasa dermara
Fol. 5b 1. der dar aichtib na n-ingen ri met na naire in uair sin. Ua h-uruathmar acus ua h-emeltius acus ua imsnim acus ua h-urecla leosom caill a(n) n-oigi acus a n-ingenais do na feraib sin. Uair ni ra badar ar tuind talman in tan sin da ingin uad indruccu annat sin. Air is amlaid batar-sum cend-chaema cosmaile, sul-glasa saineamla, gruad-chorcra grib-glana, bel-chorcra banamla, det-gela dianim,[4] lam-gela [5] [6] laichthecha, co sliastib semidib, co colpthaib cumaidib, co traigthib tanaidib, co salaib sar-chruindi.[6] Cid tra acht gid fata ro beth [7] fer fiamach fir-glic ac mideam-ain na n-ingen sin, ni fhiter ca [8] ragu do berad dib ar a caime acus ar a cosmaili.

Is ann sin imorro ua h-imcumang maigi acus tigi acus coillti ac gasradaib gusmara Grec ac idbairt acus ac onorugud baindsi na n-ingen sin Adraist. Acus o ra uatar-sium amlaid sin atchualatar buaidred acus bresmaidm is na

[1–1] grianan glan-sholus in tigi sin. [2] lugaidi. [3] comthaidecha.
[4] Eg. omits. [5] Eg. adds baintecha. [6–6] Eg. omits.
[7] Eg. omits. [8] caidhi in.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Moreover[1] the walls of the firmament resounded with the shouts and the uproar of the warriors as they drank in that palace. A task to relate, it would be, the gentle rivalry of talk among the bright-cheeked Grecian maidens as they drank and made merry in that house. And sprightly purple-cloaked dames were caressing and soothing[2] the beautiful daughters of Adrastus to calm their feelings of fear and timidity in the presence of their handsome comrade husbands. Then came forward the fresh, bashful, white-skinned, red-cheeked maidens, Argia and Deiphele. Great showers of tears fell from the faces of these girls because of their great bashfulness in that hour. For the surrender of their virginity and maidenhood to these men was to them a cause of dread and hesitation and concern and fear. For there was not on earth's surface at that time two girls of purer mind than they. For they were with fair and shapely heads, glorious blue eyes, brilliant[3] red cheeks, red-lipped, womanly, faultless white teeth, soft white hands, slender thighs, shapely calves, thin feet, heels exquisitely rounded. So it was that however long an observant very acute man would be contemplating these girls, he would not know which of them to prefer for loveliness and beauty.

It was then indeed that the spirited nobles of Greece found their fields and houses and woods too contracted for sacrifices, and (otherwise) celebrating the marriages of the daughters of Adrastus. And while they were thus

[1] Th., ii. 223.

[2] The Gaelic words are rare, and the exact English equivalents more or less uncertain.

[3] *Grib*, 'quick, speedy.' The epithet may refer to quickly changing colour.

feadaib acus is na fidnemedaib umpu. Acus ua comartha duba acus do-broin do na bandsib accu-sum sin ar toin.[1] As a h-aithli sin imorro tangadar mna in tire acus in talman i tempull mor-glan Menerua. Uair is ed ua bes acosum in tan sin na h-ingena oga ra faetitis[2] re fearaib, ro theasctais[3] ni da faltaib is in tempull sin Menerba i comartha genmaigecht. Acus o thangadar-som is in tempoll sin ro thoitestar fadb airm acus etig[4] Eoraip rig na h-Arcaide, adrochair[5] ri h-Adraist fecht riam remi sin, acus ro thoitsetar[6] airm acus ilfhaobair ar cheana batar is in tempull sin, acus ro crithnaigseadar riu stoc fhograigthi dermar do-fholachta as gach aird d'a n-indsaigid. Ua derb-airdeada demnacha sin, acus ua figrad[7] fir-uilc. Acus ro impatar-sum am mach do cum in rig o t' chualatar na h-idna uruada sin. Acus nir indisetar do'n rig sin, acht ro uadar fen a crithugud comraid etarru fen.

Acus ro bai airrdi[8] urbada aili ann sin. Uair is amlaid ro bai [in] ingen[9] Argia .ι. ban-chele[10] Polinices mic Eidip, acus cumtach alaind orda im a bragait .ι. muntorc alaind ingantach Hermione. Ua feochair fir-chruthach in *fr*ithi sin; ua h-aindsech[11] acus ua h-urbadach in n-aiscid sin do cech oen ac a m-(b)id. Uair is e Ulchan uruadach, gaba imneadach ifrin, ro airic in gnim sin. Acus is di do rigni Ulcan in comdach n-orda sin .ι. d' Ermione, d'ingin Mairt mic Ioib da[12] dei in chatha acus Uenerech[13] ban-dei na toili. Acus is ime tuc-sum sin di[14] sin dar ulcaib ria. Uair ua h-i caem-chele Ulcan Uenir uancumachtach. Acus is tar cend Ulchain do roigne Mairt in n-ingin Ermione re Uenir. Conid immi sin da rigni Ulcan in set sir-(bh)uan son-shercach sin re silliud sechtair fair co neimh[15] nathrach, co lingur loiscend, co
Fol. 5b 2. salchar slama-tened acus saignen, co mongaib dubglasa duaibsecha dracon, co leccaib lasamna loiscthecha

[1] Eg. omits.
[2] faidhfidis.
[3] tescidhdis.
[4] eidigh.
[5] itorcair.
[6] thoitset.
[7] fidradh.
[8] airgedha.
[9] Eg. omits.
[10] cele.
[11] h-ainnsglennach.
[12] Eg. omits.
[13] Uener.
[14] dise.
[15] Ed. indistinct.

occupied they heard noises and crashing in the woods and sacred groves around. They afterwards regarded this as a sign of dool and great sorrow to these nuptials. After that, moreover, the women of the land and country went into the great holy temple of Minerva. For at that time it was a custom among them that young maidens when about to wed should cut off a lock of their hair in the temple of Minerva in token of chastity. Now when they went into the temple the forfeited [1] weapons and armour of Euippus King of Arcadia, who was slain by Adrastus a long time before, fell, and the other weapons and spears which were in the temple fell, and loud sounding, very large, hoarse trumpets from every side caused them to tremble. These were to them sure tokens of disaster and premonitions of woe. They turned out towards the King when they heard these ominous signs. But they did not inform the King of the matter, though they spoke of it in whispers to one another.

And [2] there were other omens of evil besides. For thus was the girl Argia, the wife of Polinices son of Oedipus, with a lovely ornament of gold around her neck, viz. the beautiful, wondrous necklace of Harmonia. Superb, very beautiful was that jewel (?); unlucky and disastrous was that gift to every one who owned it. For it was baleful Vulcan, the dread smith of hell, who wrought out this deed. And it was for Harmonia the daughter of Mars, son of Jove, the god of war, and of Venus, the goddess of desire, that Vulcan made this golden ornament. And it was for bringing evil to her that he gave it to her. For Venus the goddess was the beloved spouse of Vulcan. And it was behind Vulcan's back that Venus had Harmonia by Mars. Whence it was that Vulcan, because of the dishonouring of him, made this durable, love-provoking jewel, from the venom of a serpent, the slime (?) of a toad, the refuse of flakes of fire and thunderbolt, with

[1] *fadb*, now *faobh*, 'spoil, booty': the arms and armour of the vanquished were frequently spoken of as *fadb* in Gaelic.

[2] Th., ii. 265.

ar medon ann, comma (dh)ruited re duba, acus coma fiuchtugad fergi, acus coma grendugad galair do gach oen ac a m-bid. Acus is i cetna nech ar ar imir a h-airm(b)erta uruada .i. Ermione, ban-chele chuanna Chathim mic Agenoir. Acus is le side ro cumdaiged in Teib ar tus, riam ar a soed in bean sin in nathraig n-granda n-geranaig aroen re Cathim mac Agenoir, co m-bitis aroen ac sir-fetgaire is na moigib cuana caithmecda. Acus as a h-aithli sin ro siacht in muntorc sin co Semile, ingin Cathim mic Agenoir. Acus is di sin tuc Ioib in grad n-dermar. Acus ni luaithi ranic in muntorc sin d'a h-indsaigid na thanic Iunaind, ingean Shatuirn .i. bean Ioib, d'indsaigid na h-ingine ir-richt a mumi, acus is ed adrubairt re Semila: 'Cundig-siu,' ar si, 'comairle acus comriachtain rit is in delb i comraiceann re h-Iunaind.' Acus ro chuindig Samilia amlaid sin ar Ioib comriachtain ria. Acus ro comroic Ioib ria-si a richt saignen telctech tendtide amal da nid re h-Iunaind, cu ra loiscead fo chetoir Semile, uair nir fhaelastar-si delrud na diadachta do ben ria. Acus is tre bithin in muntorc sin ro loit loscend in n-ingen sin amar fhorglit na faibli guacha gentlidi sin. Acus indister co roibi in cumdach comthnudach colach sin ac Iochasta, mathair Polinices. Acus is tre na bithin sin ro ui si acc a mac uaden .i. ac Eidip co ruc da mac do .i. Ethiocles acus Polinices. Et tuc Polinices ar sin h-e d'a ban-chele uadein .i. do Argia, da [1] ingin alaind Adraist. Ua dereoil acus ua dimicin re siair-si .i. Deifile,[2] a cumdach brigach bannsi ac fegadh in muntuirc ingantaich orda sin. Et o t' chonnairc imorro Erifile caem-chele Amfiarus in ni sin tucásdair saint sir-chuindcheda [3] air co n-ar bh(fh)earrdi le a bethu 'n a ingnais. Acus tuc Argía disi in n-aiscid sin. Acus ro chuir sí iar sin Ampiarus ar éigin do chum in chatha araon re h-Adraist acus re Polinices gus na sluagaibh acus gus na secht righaib do tabairt in chatha ind aghaidh na Tiabanda acus Eitiocles. Ro cuired iar toin in cath, acus ro meabhaid for Adraist acus for Polinices, acus ro marbad

[1] do. [2] Deifilen. [3] cungedha.

the dark-grey hideous manes of dragons, with flaming, scorching jewels in the centre of it, so that it would be a presaging of sorrow and a kindling of wrath and a threatening of disease to every one who possessed it. The first person who suffered from its destructive qualities was Harmonia, the winsome wife of Cadmus son of Agenor. He it was who founded Thebes, before his wife as well as himself was changed into a hideous, hissing serpent, when both were ever whistling among the fair, fruitful fields. Afterwards the necklace went to Semele, the daughter of Cadmus son of Agenor. It was she whom Jove greatly loved. No sooner did the necklace reach her than Juno, daughter of Saturn, and wife of Jove, went to the girl in the guise of her nurse, and spoke to Semele thus: 'Request him,' said she, 'to commune with you and approach you in the shape in which he approaches Juno.' And Semele made the request to Jove to visit her thus. And Jove embraced her in the guise of a hurling, fiery thunderbolt, as was his custom with Juno, and Semele was instantly burnt up, for she could not endure the touch of the divine brilliance. And it is because of that necklace that a toad wounded that girl, as the false, heathenish fables declare. And it is reported that Jocaste mother of Polinices possessed that contentious, sin-causing ornament. And it was because of it that she was (wife) to her own son Oedipus, and bore him two sons, Etiocles and Polinices. Polinices thereafter gave it to his own wife Argia, the beautiful daughter of Adrastus. Her sister Deiphile held her own rich bridal ornaments of little value and worth when she viewed that wonderful necklace of gold. And when Eriphyle the beloved wife of Ampiarus beheld it, such longing desire to possess it seized her that she preferred death than to be without it. Argia bestowed the gift upon her; and she in turn sent Ampiarus perforce to the war with Adrastus and Polinices, together with the hosts and the seven kings, to wage war against the Thebans and Etiocles. The battle was afterwards fought,

na secht rígha ann acus Polinices. Acus ni taineic duine no bethadach as acht Atraist a aenar. Acus ro baidhedh Ampíarus. Almeon dno mac Aimpíarus ro marbh seic a mathair .ι. Enifilié, ar as i fodera a athair do bhádhadh .ι. Aimpiarus. Ro ghabh iar sin cuthach Almeon[1] a h-aithli a mathair do marbadh dó. Ro tothlaig iar
Fol. 6a l. sin a bean for Almeon .ι. Cailliore isidhe, in muntorc, ar ro ba doigh lé co b-fuighbed sé slainte da scar*ad* an muntorc ris. Tugad dise h-é iar sin in muntorc acus ar aoi[2] ni moite[3] fuair-siom slainte. Taineic iar sin athair a mathar go h-Almeon .ι. Pleigh, acus ro marbhustar Almeon .ι. mac a ingine a cinta a ingine, mathar Almeon fen. Ro tothlaig ben[4] Almeon .ι. Calliore ar Ióip co ro coimededh a da mac bega di co tisadh dhibh dighailt a n-athar rén,[5] acus soc a n-anmanna sidhe. Atrachtatar sidhe iar sin, acus ro tinólatar sidhe sluagh mor dermhair do cum Pleighe, acus ro fuagratar cath fair. Ro tinoil dno Pleighi a muinntir acus a mileda ar áoi. Ro cuinneigh Pleighe cairde bliadna for na macaibh gan cath do cur ris. Adrubratar-samh do bherdáois, da m-beith a chend-sam aca-samh ris in bliadain sin ar n-á búain da méidhe. Adubairt Pleighi nach tibrad a cend doibh da dheoin. Ro cuirsit iar sin cath go fichdo feochair fergach leth for leth, acus ro marbadh sluagh dirim di-airmhe etorra ar aoi. Ro meabaid in cath for Pleighi. Acus ro siachtatar da mac Almeon chuige acus adubhratar ris: 'In tucus let,' ar siat, 'Almeon?' 'Ni tucas,' ar se, 'acus da m-beith agum[6] do beroinn.' Ro bensat iar sin maca Almeon a cend do Pleighi, acus tucsat ár dermháir for a muinntir (etir) macaibh (ocus) mnáibh. Tancatar iar sin d'a tigh, ar m-breith buadha acus coscair. Finit do scel an muinntuirc.[7]

As a h-aithle sin imorro ro chuir Polinicés ag cinn bliadna techtaire do chum a bhrathor .ι. Eitioclés. Tit

[1] Ed. has .ι. *Caillióire isidhe* scraped out. [2] ai. [3] moidí.
[4] setid. [5] for *fen*, due to the influence of the preceding 'r' (?).
[6] Eg. adds a trath sa. [7] Eg. adds ann sin.

and Adrastus and Polinices were defeated, and the seven kings were slain, and Polinices as well. And neither man nor beast escaped save Adrastus only. And Ampiarus was overwhelmed. Further Alcmaeon son of Ampiarus slew his mother Eriphyle, she being the cause of his father Ampiarus's destruction. Then Alcmaeon went mad after he slew his mother. Thereafter his wife Callirrhöe requested Alcmaeon to give her the necklace, for she was certain that he would get well again if the necklace and he were parted. It was given to her thereafter, but he did not any the more regain health because of that. Then the father of his mother, Phegeus, came to Alcmaeon and slew his daughter's son, for the crime of his daughter, Alcmaeon's own mother. Alcmaeon's wife Callirrhöe requested Jove to protect her two little boys, until they would be able to avenge their father's death. (Thus) their minds were at peace.[1] Afterwards they arose and mustered a great host against Phegeus and challenged him to battle. Phegeus also gathered his people and warriors to oppose them. Phegeus asked the youths a year's respite from battle. They replied that this would be granted, provided that during that year they had possession of his head cut off his neck. Phegeus said that he would not willingly surrender his head to them. The battle was thereupon fought fiercely, viciously, wrathfully on either side, and a great, innumerable host was slain in that fight. Phegeus was defeated. The two sons of Alcmaeon approached him and said: 'Have you brought,' said they, 'Alcmaeon?' 'I have not,' said he, 'but if I had him I would have brought him.' Thereupon the sons of Alcmaeon beheaded Phegeus, and made great slaughter of his people, upon boys and women. Thereafter they returned home with victory and triumph. Here ends the story of the necklace.

[2] Afterwards Polinices, at the end of the year, sent Tydeus as ambassador to his brother Etiocles. The

[1] The reading seems clear, but the meaning is not so. *Socht*, 'silence,' is common, but I have not met a verb *soc*.

[2] Th., ii. 414.

ainm an techtaire. Acus adubhairt an techtaire fris in flaites do leigen d'a bráthair. Ro ghabh ferg mor Eitiocles acus adubhairt (in) ní táirredh,[1] ní leicfedh uadha, acus ni dhénadh cert na dligedh uime, acht muna rucadh iomarcraidh t-sluaigh nó catha uadha é. 'Acus nocha denaim-si' ar se, 'fich na formad um aird-cendas na Gregi uili tre charadrad an rig Adraist, acus leigid damsa bruigi cairrgeacha cumga na Teibi tonn-glaisi. Acus is iris limsa go rip'e m'athair Eidip, (acus) bid dai(t)rebachaib aigimsim,' ar se, '.i. Pelops mor mac Tantail acus Ioif mac sona Saduirnn. Acus is misi,' ar se, 'ra clechtsad an t-oirecht-sa orra, acus ní h-ail leo,' ar se, 'fo mamugadh[2] do choraid chundtabartach, acht beith ag aen rig dilis derrscaitheach, uair cach flaithius na ba feidil ní choiglend do chíneadaib, (acus) nach faiceann tusa an t-adhuath acus in n-egla[3] ata ar m'oirecht-sa ar mo dul-sa dib? Agus dno ní leigfed maithi na treb Tiabanda misi dib itir na rigi do thabairt dosum.'

Acht trá ní ro damastair do Thid a chloisteacht na eisteacht ris na baith-cheileabraib briathar sin Eitiocles. Is and sin imorro adubairt Titt: 'Do bera,' ar se, 'an flaithus uaid, acus gid tri múir adbal mora iaraind ro beidis ad timcheall ar n-a cumdach do Impión airigda.
Fol. 6a 2. [4]Acus is eiside[4] cet duine [5]ris ar[5] cumdaigead múr na Teibi ar tus. Acus ni denad sin (acht) a chruith cheol-bind choguasta do sheinm, acus ticdis croinn acus clocha ua cheol a chruiti-sim co teigdis ar an[6] múr. Acus cid airm acus ilfhaebar acus teinti an talman, ní dad t'aincfed co robais[7] marbtha mugaigthi o'r n-armaib-ni. Acus biaid do mind rig a t'egmais araen re d' chenn. Acus is truaigi lem,' ar se, 'an digail do berthar ar na cethernaib croda cara donda do bera let is in chath ad t'(fh)arrad bodein. Uch tra,'[8] ar se Tid, 'bud adbal na h-áir acus na h-esraigi ar slesaib sleibi[9] Chiteron. Acus biaid tuili falcmar fala i sruith alaind Ismén do'n chomrac sin. Acus

[1] tarradh. [2] madmugud. [3] umegla. [4–4] Eg. omits.
[5–5] sisir. [6] oen. [7] rabhdais. [8] Eg. omits. [9] t-sleibi.

ambassador said to Etiocles to give over the dominion to his brother.[1] Etiocles became very angry. He said that he would not. He would not yield (the sovereignty), nor would he do right nor justice with respect to it, unless superior numbers or the fortune of war would snatch it from him. 'And I shall not,' said he, 'make quarrel nor dispute about the supreme rule of the whole of Greece, (in which you have interest) because of (your) alliance with King Adrastus, only leave to me the rocky, contracted confines of green-surfaced Thebes. Moreover my father, as I do not forget, is Oedipus, while you trace your origin to the great Pelops son of Tantalus, and to Jove the happy son of Saturn. Besides,' added he, 'the people have become accustomed to my rule, and they do not desire,' he continued, 'to displace me for a champion of uncertain ways; they prefer to be under one devoted, distinguished monarch, for no dominion not under continuous rule escaped (the attacks of) other tribes. Do you not see the terror and fear of my people at (the thought of) my ceasing to rule them? Moreover the chiefs of the Theban race will on no account suffer me to give over the sovereignty to him.'

[2] But Tydeus could not endure to hear or listen to these wild ravings of Etiocles. So Tydeus then said: 'The dominion,' said he, 'will be taken from you, even though the three huge, vast iron walls which were built by the renowned Amphion surround you. It was he who first built the walls of Thebes originally. And all he had to do was to play his sweet, melodious, hollow lyre, and trees and stones followed the music of the lyre and took their place on the wall. Notwithstanding your weapons and many spears and strongholds, they shall not protect you, but you will be slain and destroyed by our arms. And you shall lose your crown as well as your head. And more do I lament,' added Tydeus,

[1] The original text is largely compressed.
[2] Th., ii. 452.

nì h-ingnad lem,' ar se, 'cach olc do déntai, uair ba[1] croda colach cach[2] cineadh or' geineadbair. Acus ni fhuil do Tiabandaib uili duine nach indtamlaigenn[3] d'a athair ar ulc, acht mad Polinices. Is digeltar ortsa,[4] a Etiocles,' ar se, 'th'ulc fein, can rigi na[5] bliadna-sa do thabairt duindi, uair nocha sirmid acht sin.'

Et[6] o ra labair Tid dana derrsgaidteach amlaid sin ar tairrseach an tigi rig,[7] tainig roime co dian acus co debil,[8] amal tanig an torc tren[9] adbal allaid do chuir Déan d'innrad agus d'osubad[10] crich na Calidone, ar ba ferg le can idbairt do denam di do lucht na Cailidoine, co n-eirgid a guairi gairb-líath gaisideach amal fhidbaid os a cind, co n-taidlidis saignena solusta as a fiaclaib cromad[11] cruaid-gera im a leiccnib lan-granna re glonn-béimnig[12] a claideam no[12] a clomair, an trath co n-tuindsned ar a cheili h-e co n-tachlad acus co n-tógluaiseadh cairgi troma thuinidi an talman acus fualascada fada na fidbaidi a h-eochair-imlib srotha[13] Achileus, an tan co n-tuairgidis sealgaireda sir-luatha gasraigi Greg, co n-fhagaib in torc sin Tailemon tar a h-eis, acus co ra trascair an coraid curata Ixion co ra marb an milid mor-chalma Meliager[14] ua deoig h-e. Acus is fa'n samla sin tanig an tren-fer calma Cailidonda a h-oirecht thnuthach na Teibi, mar bad air fein do bertha era ma[15] fhlaithus. Acus ua tindisnach toirbert[16] an fhir sin is na sligthib soineamlaib so-imtheachta. Acus do diubraich uadh[17] an fleisc n-ola-crainn ro bai 'n a laim a comartha sidha. Acus ro badar mna na Tiabanda seal ag sith-silleadh an gilla sin, acus do badar ag eadarguidi cacha h-uilc do Thid. Acus do badar ag imragad uilc an a n-aigentaib dá rig bodein .i. Etiocles.

Is and sin imorro ra bai an fer meblach mi-comairlech neimdeach naeimdigi .i. Etiocles ag sgrudad an a menmain cindus do beradh imdeall aoigeaga[18] m' an techtairi togaidi

[1] is. [2] in [3] innsamluig*ed*. [4] Ed. adds acus.
[5] Eg. omits. [6] Eg. omits. [7] rigi sini. [8] dedhbel.
[9] Eg. omits. [10] do fhasugud. [11] croma. [12–12] Eg. omits.
[13] t-srotha. [14] Ed. Meiagér. [15] ma'n. [16] tairberta.
[17] Ed. indistinct. [18] innell aóigedha.

'the fate of the brave, loyal, valorous troops which you will bring to the battle by your side. Alas indeed,' continued Tydeus, 'terrible will be the slaughter and disasters on the slopes of Mount Cythaeron! And the lovely stream of Ismen will run in torrents of blood after that conflict. Nor do I wonder,' continued Tydeus, 'at the many evils you have done, for cruel and wicked were the race from whom you have sprung. And there is not a single Theban, save Polinices alone, who does not equal his father in crime. And your own evil deeds will be avenged on you, Etiocles,' concluded Tydeus, 'since you refuse to yield this year's rule to us, seeing we ask nothing more.'

Now after the bold, distinguished Tydeus spoke thus on the doorstep of the palace, he went forward swiftly and speedily like the mighty, huge, wild boar which Diana sent to harry and lay waste the country of Calydon (she being wroth because the people of Calydon did not sacrifice to her), with his rough-grey hairy mane like a forest above his head, with his curved, hard, sharp tusks gleaming like lightning flashes in his hideous cheeks, and with his crunching jaws, by which, when he squeezed them against each other, he could dig up and remove heavy boulders fixed in the earth and the tall brushwood of the forest on the banks of the river Achelous when the nimble huntsmen of the Grecian populace chased him. That boar laid Telamon on his back, and overthrew the heroic champion Ixion, but was at length killed by the very brave warrior Meleager. In this wise the brave, mighty man of Calydon left the stern assembly of Thebes, as though he himself had been refused the sovereignty. Impetuous was the journey of that man over the splendid, easily travelled roads. He threw away the olive wand which he carried as a symbol of peace. The women of Thebes were for a while gazing at that warrior, and invoking all manner of evil to Tydeus. They were also in their thoughts wishing evil to their own king, Etiocles.

sin .i. ma Thid. Acus is e ni do roine-sim [1] an fer dichoindircleach diumusach sin .i. fer [1] dá chuingeadhaib calma catha acus do ogaib talchara tairisi do thoga acus do thinol [2] acus a chur ar cind urtharrsna Tid ar sligid nach seithenadh,[3] acus a marbad doib. Acus ba feramail an fer cos ar cuireadh an coimlín curad sin do chomlann. Acus tangadar an ceithern sin ar casanaib conairi na coillteag n-driseach n-deilgneach n-diamar dluith.[4] Acus fuaradar inad fiamach farairia in glind dorcha do-imthechta itir da
Fol. 6b l. sliab arda aimreigi, co fidnemeadaib fermara fasaig. Acus do bái carrag ard aduathmar, acus is innti sidhi ro bai an torathar tedmannach dar bo comainm Spínx. Acus is é an torathar na thaighlegh acus no thímchillead na moigi fa coimnesa di o roscaib ro-granna ruamanta. Acus cach duine adchidh acus tigead is in sligid sin ro (f)iarfhaigead sin[5] cesta doib. Acus gach duine nach tabradh fregar furri ro sinead-si a dóidi duaibsecha dub-glasa, acus a h-ingne urnochta aithgera, acus a fiacla goinideacha [6] a cend cach duine,[7] co sluigeadh acus co sir-chagnadh dar a craes salach sléimredach, no co táinig an fer og ainíndeach Eidip acus co ra marbastar an torathar sin. Acus ní lamdais cetra caithmeaghda [8] dul d'ingeltradh feoir an muigi sin, na eoin na eathaidi cromad dar craebaib na cailleadh sin os cind ín [9] adbaid sin. Et tangadar muinntir Etiocleis co tai taithneach co ruigi in inad sin, acus ra badar ag urnaigi Tid diumsaig do dalaigh.

[1-1] úidder diarmí.
[2] Eg. adds o'n fer dimsach dícomairlech sin.
[3] sechenudh.
[4] n-dluith.
[5] Eg. omits.
[6] gótnedacha.
[7] Eg. adds acus.
[8] caithmeacha.
[9] na h-

[1] Now that dishonourable, virulent, inimical man of evil counsel, Etiocles, was pondering in his mind by what scheme he could accomplish the death of that excellent ambassador Tydeus. And what he did was to select a proud, evil-minded man, one of his brave battle champions, who would select and take with him stout, loyal warriors, and to send him to waylay Tydeus upon a path which he could not avoid, and have him slain by these. Manly was the leader with whom the band of champions was sent to the conflict. These troops proceeded by tracks of road through secret, close thickets of thorn and bramble. And they found an eerie place for their watch in a dark, impassable glen between two high, rough hills, with sacred groves, grassy and waste. And there was a great, frowning rock in which (at one time) lived the pestiferous monster named Sphinx. This monster used to survey and compass the neighbouring plains with his very ugly, red eyes. And he used to ask a question of every man whom he saw coming that way. And whosoever would not answer the question, he would reach forth his dreadful, dark-grey hands, and his bare, very sharp nails, and his pointed teeth, and seize him by the head, and swallow and gnaw at him in his foul, slavering mouth, until the young and vehement Oedipus came and slew that monster. Hungry quadrupeds dared not pasture these plains, nor could birds or birds of prey alight on the branches of the trees over that dwelling. Etiocles's people came silently, warily to that place and were awaiting the haughty Tydeus to encounter him.

[1] Th., ii. 482.

EWEN MACLACHLAN AND INVERNESS ACADEMY

THE STORY OF A FAMOUS HIGHLAND CONTROVERSY

EVAN M. BARRON

IN December 1819 the Classical master in the Royal Academy of Inverness, or, as he was called, the teacher of the Greek and Latin Classes, resigned his position on his appointment as minister of Dores. His name was Alexander Campbell, and he had been for sixteen years a teacher in the Academy, first as teacher of English, and latterly as teacher of Greek and Latin. Like so many other dominies of his day he was a divinity student, and when, in 1781, he was appointed Classical teacher it was expressly stated in the Minutes that he had got the appointment as he had 'now given the Directors reason to expect that he will give up his views to the Church.' This requires some explanation. Divinity students were in many ways admirable teachers, but they suffered from one great drawback in the eyes of their employers—they might at any moment throw up the teaching profession for the Church. However pleasing that might be to the parson-teacher himself, it was manifestly apt to be exceedingly inconvenient to his employers and his pupils, and it is not surprising to find more than once in the Minutes of the Academy objections to such teachers strongly stated.

In passing, I may say that Campbell had been appointed English Master in 1804, and was a Master of Arts of King's College. He came to Inverness Academy from Fortrose, where he had been teacher of the Grammar School. Before we leave him it may be of interest to refer briefly to his after career. On 30th November 1822 he was presented to Croy by Lord Cawdor, who was also patron of Dores. For some reason there was strong opposition in Croy to his settlement, and when the new minister and a party of his friends proceeded on the last Sunday of February 1823 to the church

of Croy they were met by a crowd of parishioners, who posted themselves behind the churchyard wall, and greeted them with volleys of stones and divots. 'After a short but sharp conflict,' according to a contemporary account, the minister and his friends retired to the village of Tornagrain. 'There they not only rallied but actually turned upon the too rash advance guard of the enemy, and made prisoners of two women and three men.' These prisoners and several others were afterwards tried before the Circuit Court at Inverness, but the first trial fell through owing to no fewer than twenty-two of the jurymen being challenged, two by the Crown agent and twenty by counsel for the defence. Two months later, however, four men and one woman were brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, when three of the men and the woman were found guilty. But before sentence was passed Mr. Campbell intervened, and presented a petition to the Court praying that as lenient a punishment as possible might be inflicted, as the prisoners had been betrayed into error and the bad spirit was rapidly subsiding in the parish. In consequence light sentences were passed, one of the prisoners being sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and the others to two months in the jail of Inverness. It is satisfactory to know that a few weeks later Mr. Campbell was duly inducted to his charge in, as a contemporary account has it, 'the presence of a very respectable congregation.' He had taken the precaution, nevertheless, of being attended by the sheriff and his officers, but, we are told, 'there was no occasion for their interference, no interruption having been offered to the solemn services of the day.' That was in 1823, and Mr. Campbell died minister of the parish thirty years later, in 1853, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, after a long and successful ministry.

Mr. Campbell had been a very successful teacher. In the session ending December 1819 there were one hundred and twenty-five pupils in regular attendance in the Latin Class, which, in his letter of resignation, he says was more

than double the number when he first entered the Academy. In the newspaper correspondence to which the appointment of his successor shortly afterwards gave rise, it is stated, and it is not contradicted, that his class was the largest Latin class in any school north of Aberdeen. His success he attributed, to a large degree, to his assistant, John Clark, 'than whom none could show more zeal, more temper, or more regularity. In fact he uniformly acted as if the whole responsibility rested upon himself, and I cannot better discharge my grateful sense of his able assistance, or leave a more valuable legacy to my beloved pupils, whom I must now leave with affectionate regret, than by recommending Mr. Clark as my successor, who I know will be found in no ordinary way to combine the rare faculty of tempering firmness with familiarity, and modesty with a thorough knowledge of his duty.'

Clark had been for ten years employed in the Academy, as assistant in the Latin Class and teacher of drawing, and had himself been educated in the school. He had therefore a certain claim to the consideration of the Directors, which was greatly strengthened by Mr. Campbell's strong recommendation. Clark had, however, some years before become suspect to Macintosh of Raigmore, a noted figure in Inverness in the first half of the last century, and a man to whom the Academy owes a great deal, although on several occasions his impetuous nature led him into actions which were not altogether to the benefit of the institution for whose fame he was so jealous. But Raigmore was incapable of malice, and he would probably not have opposed Clark's appointment as Campbell's successor had not Macdonell of Glengarry appeared on the scene with a candidate of his own in the person of Ewen Maclachlan, the most famous Celtic scholar of his day, and a man of profound learning and great attainments.

Glengarry and Raigmore had this in common—they were both of an impulsive nature, and were always eager to take up a cause and see it through with all the energy and fire

of which they were capable. Glengarry, however, was not by any means a popular man in the Highlands, for though he was kind and generous when his will was not crossed, he was of an exceedingly overbearing nature, and had a most exalted idea of his own importance as a Highland chief. He could not brook opposition of any sort, and as he was constantly under the delusion that he was actuated by the highest motives, and those who differed from him by the lowest, he was not an easy man for ordinary mortals to get on with. He had, too, a passion for dressing and living as he imagined the Highland chiefs of old dressed and lived, and being a Highland chief, he could in consequence command a certain following who were prepared to look with kindness on his vagaries. Every Highlander knows how he used to appear in public in full Highland dress, accompanied by his 'tail' of retainers clothed and armed in the ancient Highland fashion.

He had, too, an extraordinary fondness for posing. In 1815 he founded a society, the name of which is sufficient to raise a smile nowadays, the 'Society of True Highlanders,' of which, needless to say, Glengarry himself was President. This society existed for some years, and was famous for its annual gatherings at Inverlochy, when Glengarry and various members of his clan, as well as a number of other Highland gentlemen, appeared in all the glory of the ancient Highland dress, and gave themselves over for several days to amusements conducted in what they fondly believed was the ancient Highland manner. On one of these occasions we read that the ancient Caledonian Hunt was revived, and for three days the 'True Highlanders' hunted the deer in the old style. Full reports of the proceedings, couched in the most flowery language, appeared in the *Inverness Journal*, and in these Glengarry appears almost as a demigod to whom the rest of the 'True Highlanders' loved to do reverence. There is little doubt that these reports were either written by himself or by some one in his immediate circle under his direction—probably by one of his 'Tail' with his tongue

in his cheek the while. It is little wonder that his performances made him the laughing-stock of Scotland, and caused considerable annoyance to Highlanders who had a dislike to seeing their country and their people made publicly a subject for the laughter of fools.

Two incidents of a widely different character show what manner of man he was. In 1798 at a military ball in Inverness he approached Miss Forbes of Culloden—afterwards Mrs. Duff of Muirtown—and reminded her that she had promised him the last country dance. She had no recollection of such a promise, and told him she was engaged for it to Ranald Macdonald. Glengarry took himself away, but in a little returned and informed the lady that Ranald Macdonald—yielding to I know not what persuasion or threats—had given up the dance to him. Miss Forbes naturally resented this discourteous treatment and replied that she would dance with neither of them. Glengarry refused to take her answer as final, and tried to argue with her, whereupon a grandson of Flora Macdonald, Lieutenant Macleod of the 42nd, who was sitting by Miss Forbes, remarked, 'Why do you tease the lady? Can't you allow her to choose for herself?' Whereupon Glengarry transferred his attentions to Macleod. Later in the evening, in the messroom of the 79th, high words passed between Glengarry and Macleod over the matter, and the gallant chief eventually struck Macleod, who was quite a youth, over the head with his cane and kicked him. Macleod promptly drew his dirk, but before he could retaliate they were separated. A challenge of course followed, and a day or two later they met on the beach between Fort George and Ardersier. Glengarry had offered to apologise, but Macleod refused to accept an apology unless the chief gave up the cane with which he had struck him, to be used as Macleod should think proper. At the first fire Macleod fell, and a few days later died. Glengarry had to stand his trial in Edinburgh for murder, and only the skill and eloquence of his counsel, Harry Erskine, saved him. As it was, the jury

added a rider to their verdict highly disapproving of his conduct at the beginning of the affair, and going on, 'It was fortunate for him that the duel did not take place as soon as was intended, before an attempt was made to apologise, as in that case it was highly probable that they would have returned a very different verdict.'

What the man to whom Glengarry owed his acquittal, Harry Erskine, thought of him may be judged by the fact that he refused to accept an invitation to a great dinner given by the chief's friends in honour of his acquittal, on the ground, in the words of his biographer, that 'his admiration of the part played by his client in the late tragedy was not sufficiently strong to admit of his being present.'

The other episode occurred at Inverness, when Glengarry appeared at the Michaelmas Head Court in 1819, and on the roll of freeholders being made up rose and read a protest against the designation of Ranald George Macdonald of Clanranald, on the ground that the gentleman had no lands or charters that entitled him to be designated 'of Clanranald,' his true and legitimate title being 'of Moidart' or Captain of Clanranald. 'To prove this averment' (I quote from a contemporary report), 'Glengarry entered into a genealogical history of the family of Moidart, explained the etymology of the word clan, and concluded with an accompaniment of some animated remarks that he would consider it personal to himself if any gentleman should henceforward mention Mr. Macdonald otherwise than as Captain of Clanranald.' The meeting, we are told, rejected the contention as incompetent, whereupon Glengarry announced his intention of bringing the question before the Court of Session, and thence, if necessary, to the House of Peers. 'The accompaniment of some animated remarks' must have added some much-needed zest to the doings of the Michaelmas Head Court.

Sir Walter Scott is said to have modelled Fergus M'Ivor, in *Waverley*, on Glengarry, and whether that be so or not, he certainly knew him well and counted him among his friends.

His estimate of him is therefore worth quoting. In his diary, printed in Lockhart's *Life*, Sir Walter thus refers to him under date 14th February 1826. 'I had a call from Glengarry yesterday, as kind and as friendly as usual. This gentleman is a kind of Quixote in our age, having retained, in their full extent, the whole feelings of clanship and chieftainship, elsewhere so long abandoned. He seems to have lived a century too late, and to exist, in a state of complete law and order, like a Glengarry of old, whose will was law to his sept. Warm-hearted, generous, friendly, he is beloved by those who know him, and his efforts are unceasing to show kindness to those of his clan who are disposed fully to admit his pretensions. To dispute them is to incur his resentment, which has sometimes broken out in acts of violence which have brought him into collision with the law. To me he is a treasure, as being full of information as to the history of his own clan, and the manners and customs of the Highlanders in general. Strong, active, and muscular, he follows the chase of the deer for days and nights together, sleeping in his plaid when darkness overtakes him. The number of his singular exploits would fill a volume; for, as his pretensions are high, and not always willingly yielded to, he is every now and then giving rise to some rumour. He is, on many of these occasions, as much sinned against as sinning; for men, knowing his temper, sometimes provoke him, conscious that Glengarry, from his character for violence, will always be put in the wrong by the public.'

Again, in a letter written in June 1830, in a reference to his greyhounds, he remarks, 'One of them I had from poor Glengarry, who, with all wild and fierce points of his character, had a kind, honest, and warm heart.'

I have dwelt at such length on Glengarry as a knowledge of his character and of the estimation in which he was held is necessary to a clear understanding of the controversy which raged round the appointment of Campbell's successor in the Greek and Latin class of Inverness Royal Academy. Now, among his other foibles, Glengarry loved to pose as a

patron of learning. To Ewen Maclachlan he had extended great kindness, and indeed had made possible his scholastic career. Maclachlan was born in 1775 in Lochaber, received his early education from the parish minister, and when only fifteen years of age became tutor in the family of Cameron of Clunes, where he remained, save for an interval of two years, until he was twenty-one. In 1796 he was introduced to Glengarry, and that chief not only ever afterwards continued his warm friend, but learning that he was exceedingly anxious to proceed to King's College, Aberdeen, gave him such pecuniary assistance that he was able to fulfil his desire. It is said that Maclachlan travelled to Aberdeen in the Highland dress, and that when after the bursary competition he was awaiting the results with his fellow competitors in the quadrangle he was made the subject of many gibes on account of his uncouth appearance, gibes which, however, speedily gave place to envy when it was announced that Maclachlan was first bursar. He had a distinguished University career, and soon became assistant Librarian in King's College and assistant teacher of the Grammar School of Old Aberdeen, of which latter he was appointed headmaster in 1818, though, owing to his chief's continual ill-health, he had been in reality headmaster for sixteen years prior to that date. During these years he produced a great deal of first-rate literary work, including a translation of the *Iliad* into Gaelic, and he soon came to be recognised as the foremost Celtic scholar of his day, and one of the most erudite classical scholars in Scotland. He never forgot the gratitude he owed to Glengarry, and, we are told, was that chief's champion in the genealogical battles in which his soul delighted, and was also Gaelic secretary to Glengarry's pet society, the 'Society of True Highlanders.' His connection with Glengarry it will thus be seen was very close and intimate. In other fields of learning he gained distinction. His most lasting fame rests upon his editorship of the Highland Society's Dictionary, showing wide scholarship not only in Gaelic but in cognate

languages. He is in the very front rank of Gaelic poets, and his poems, which won him great popularity in his own day, are still widely read and greatly admired. Such was the man whom Glengarry proposed as successor to Mr. Campbell in the Greek and Latin classes in the Inverness Royal Academy.

As soon as Campbell's letter of resignation had been read to the meeting of Directors on 8th December 1819, Glengarry produced a letter from Dr. Skene Ogilvie, Aberdeen, to Ewen Maclachlan, expressing a high opinion of the latter's qualifications and abilities, recommending him to the Directors as eminently qualified to fill the vacancy in the Academy occasioned by Mr. Campbell's resignation, and making mention of an enclosure, the nature of which is not divulged. The Minute of the Meeting records that 'the letter was returned to Glengarry with a recommendation to present it at the Meeting to be afterwards appointed for the purpose of making the election.' Now, to understand the acute controversy which followed it is important to bear in mind this letter. It is dated 30th September 1819, and Campbell's resignation was not in the hands of the Directors until the 8th of December following. He had, however, been presented to Dores in August, and the probability of a vacancy in the Academy was therefore known.

The question at once arises, What was the enclosure referred to in Dr. Ogilvie's letter? To my mind there is not the least doubt that it was a letter from Glengarry to Maclachlan advising him of the coming vacancy, and suggesting that he should come forward. From the course which events afterwards took it is, I think, clear that had Glengarry not interfered Clark would have received the appointment, but, as it was, the vacancy was advertised and other candidates entered the field.

Glengarry was determined to secure the appointment for Maclachlan, and this determination, together with the methods by which he sought to accomplish his end, created a very strong feeling against Maclachlan. As I have already

remarked, Glengarry was obsessed with the idea of his own importance as a Highland chief, and simply could not tolerate opposition of any kind, with the result that Maclachlan suffered from the vehemence by which his cause was advanced.

Now, at that time and for many years afterwards the government of the Academy was in the hands of a body of Directors consisting of the provost, four bailies, and Dean of Guild of the burgh of Inverness for the time being, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Inverness for the time being, and five other persons annually appointed by the Commissioners of Supply for the County of Inverness, together with such other persons or person as had subscribed or should subscribe 'the sum of £50 of lawful money of Great Britain for the purposes of the said Institution, and the heirs-male, of lawful age, of such persons as should subscribe and pay to the extent of £100 of like lawful money or upwards.' As a rule the affairs of the Academy were managed by the Directors resident in the neighbourhood, but at a meeting held on 23rd February 1820 Glengarry showed what his intentions were by producing three gentlemen who subscribed £50 each and so became Directors. One of these was his factor, and another a member of his own clan. William Falconer of Lentron, who had already subscribed £10, 10s. to the Academy, and whose children were being educated there, also appeared and paid a further £39, 10s., in order to qualify as a Director. He was opposed to Glengarry. The date of the payments is somewhat important, as charges were freely bandied about by both sides during the contest, which extended over ten weeks, that the other party were manufacturing Directors in order that they might secure the return of their nominee; but I think it is quite plain from the record of the meeting of 23rd February that Glengarry was the original and prime offender in this respect. Indeed, a writer in the *Courier* some weeks later alleged that Glengarry had spent several hundred pounds in the manu-

facture of Directors, and that I think is almost certainly true. Those methods naturally did nothing to encourage those Directors who disliked Glengarry to vote for his nominee, however deserving that nominee might be.

Meanwhile, Glengarry was making use of his friend Raigmore's paper, the *Inverness Journal*, to make known to the public Maclachlan's merits, and during the months of February, March, and April a very lively correspondence took place in its columns, and in the columns of the *Courier*.

Early in February Clark addressed the following letter to Glengarry :—

'INVERNESS, *4th February* 1820.

'SIR,—Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I trust you will pardon the trouble I give in addressing you, as a Director of the Inverness Academy, and soliciting your patronage in supporting my claims upon the Latin class, about to become vacant.

'That you should feel so much interested in your friend Mr. Maclachlan is much to be admired ; but when you shall have learnt my claims I doubt not but a sense of public justice will prevail in your mind over the feeling of private friendship.

'I have served upwards of ten years in my present humble situation for a mere existence. I have served faithfully, and to the acknowledged satisfaction of my constituents.

'Should I now be disappointed, my prospects are blasted for ever, as I have no others under heaven. My predecessor received the situation without solicitation, and I have given as much satisfaction as any of them. May I, then, humbly entreat that you will have no hand in eternally blasting the prospects of so humble an individual as I am.—I have the honour of being, etc.,

(signed) 'JOHN CLARK, Jun.

'To Col. Macdonnell of Glengarry.'

To which Glengarry replied :—

'GLENGARRY HOUSE, 19*th Feb.* 1820.

'SIR,—Your letter dated the 4th inst. found me at Moy Hall, the day, I think, before I left it, which was the 8th curt. I confess it surprised me, not as coming from a person unknown to me even by sight, but from the nature of your pretensions, founded so gravely upon false data. You allege to me "private friendship" as the

groundwork to which Mr. Maclachlan founded his claim to my support. But in that you are perfectly mistaken, and no less so in your idea that I would support any man but the best qualified, whoever that may be, upon fair and impartial trial before competent judges, and if, before such a tribunal, you, or any other, can outstrip Maclachlan, you may rest assured whoever does so shall have my vote, and the support of every independent Director who enters into the real interest of the Academy and of the public.

'Your past services should certainly be considered by those who experienced them, but neither they nor I have any right to sacrifice the future good of the Northern public for such personal considerations, however interesting to you as an individual.—I am, etc.,

(signed) 'A. MACDONELL.

'To Mr. John Clark, jun.'

Soon after the vacancy was advertised Clark withdrew his application, on the ground apparently that as regards mere scholarship he would have no chance of success in what was known in those days as a comparative trial; that is to say, candidates appeared either before the Directors or before certain scholars of repute nominated by them, and underwent an examination. And that such a trial would take place on this occasion was now evident, for several other candidates had come forward, among them the master of the school of Crieff, A. N. Carmichael. He had exceedingly good testimonials, and as the section of the Directors who were opposed to Glengarry transferred their support on Clark's withdrawal to him, it soon became clear that the appointment lay between Maclachlan and Carmichael. Carmichael was, of course, quite unknown in the north of Scotland, while Maclachlan was one of the best known Highlanders of his day, and as the appointment was in the hands of a large and scattered body of Directors it was accordingly necessary for Carmichael to take some means of making his claims known to them. In the *Courier*, therefore, of 23rd March he inserted an advertisement in the form of an election address to the Directors of the Inverness Royal Academy. At this distance of time it seems a strange proceeding, but in those days it excited no surprise. On the

contrary it seemed a wise and reasonable thing to do. The address was as follows :—

To the Directors
of
The Royal Academy of Inverness

'Gentlemen,—In consequence of the advertisement of your Chairman, Thomas Gilzean, Esq., I beg leave to offer myself as a Candidate for the office of teacher of the Greek and Latin Class, in the Academy of Inverness, which is about to be vacated by the appointment of Mr. Campbell to the church of Dores. My claims to your favourable notice I have taken the liberty of stating, in a general way, to those gentlemen whose addresses I have been able to procure. As it is but too probable, however, that I have not succeeded in obtaining the names of all the Directors, I take this public method of announcing my intention to appear as a candidate ; and of assuring those gentlemen to whom I have not addressed letters on this subject, that such an omission has not arisen from negligence or disrespect, but from my ignorance of their respective designations. The distance at which I live from Inverness is very considerable, but I will cheerfully submit to any inconvenience to which this circumstance may subject me, in the firm persuasion that, of all the candidates who may personally come forward on the day of the election, the one who shall be found, upon a full and fair examination, to be the best qualified for the office, will be appointed to fill up the approaching vacancy.—I am, Gentlemen, Your most obedient servant, A. N. Carmichael.'

The Directors met on the 1st of April to meet the candidates and consider as to the next step, and at that meeting no fewer than twelve gentlemen appeared and paid £50 each in order to qualify as Directors. Maclachlan and Carmichael were also in attendance and produced their testimonials. Now Carmichael was a comparatively young man, who was certainly neither so erudite a scholar nor so well known in the world of learning as Maclachlan, and it is therefore not surprising to find Glengarry's factor moving that both candidates be remitted to the Professors of Latin and Greek in the University of Glasgow, 'to take trial of their qualifica-

tions and to inquire into their mode of teaching, and to report their opinion on both these points to the Chairman of the Directors with the least possible delay. That motion was carried by twenty votes to nineteen, and by a further vote of twenty to seventeen it was decided that the decision of the judges should be final. The candidates consequently repaired to Glasgow, but the Professors declined the task allotted to them, and conveyed their decision to the Chairman of the Directors in a letter which is a model of delicate irony.

'GLASGOW COLLEGE, *9th April* 1820.

'SIR,—Yesterday morning we had the honour of receiving your letter of the 4th inst., and also an inclosed minute of the Directors of the Inverness Academy, from which we find that by a narrow majority of one they have committed to us the examination of two candidates for the office of classical teacher in that distinguished institution. We feel ourselves much gratified by the confidence they repose in us, and through you we beg leave to convey to the Directors our assurances of the high consideration in which we hold them, and the valuable seminary over which they preside, and our thanks for the honour conferred upon us by referring their present differences to our arbitration. If we had any prospect of being able to execute the duty proposed to us in a way which would be advantageous to the purposes or satisfactory to ourselves it would give us the greatest pleasure to undertake it, but as this is not the case, we beg you will take the additional trouble of informing them that we feel constrained to decline with all due respect the office of arbiters by numerous reasons, a few of which we humbly submit to their candid consideration. In all cases when other evidence can be had we think the examination of an hour or two a very incompetent and unsatisfactory mode of ascertaining the pretensions of literary competitors, as it is liable to be disturbed by so many accidental circumstances. The best scholar, for instance, may not have the best nerves. If he stumble at one of the first questions his attention may be impaired during the whole trial, and he may be pronounced inferior merely because his rival had more recently been studying the passages offered to both. Owing to causes such as these even in the disposal of a trifling bursary by comparative trial we are seldom secure that we have selected the most meritorious candidate ; and we therefore should be far from recommending so doubtful and fallacious a test

for determining who should hold the highly important and respectable station which is at present vacant in your Academy. If even with boys, and boys who exhibit considerable disparities, this test be hazardous and fallible, it must be far more so when applied to scholars of such maturity, excellence, and regularity, as both the candidates appear to be on the present occasion. In the case of such men we believe that no one who knows what classical literature is would, after two hours, have the rashness to declare "This is the better scholar and this the worse," and the examinator whose learning was most profound would, in all probability, be most backward to pronounce such a judgment. On these and similar grounds we really feel ourselves much less capable of appreciating the comparative merits of Messrs. Maclachlan and Carmichael than the Directors themselves, holding as they do in their hands the reports of gentlemen who have been long and intimately acquainted with the personal and literary character of both the candidates. To have used our full power and decided finally is what, with means of judging so circumscribed, we could not have conscientiously done, and to have sent a qualified and perhaps unintelligible report of the questions put and answers given would have been of little service in bringing the Directors to greater unanimity. It appears to us, therefore, a more fair, manly, and honourable proceeding, instead of trifling with the serious duty to which we are invited, to decline it altogether and to replace the commission with which we have been honoured in the hands from which it proceeded. With earnest wishes for the prosperity of the Academy, and with sentiments of much respect for yourself and the Directors, we are, sir, Your most obedient servants,

(sgd.) 'Jo. Young, L.G.P., Josiah Walker, L.H.P.'

'If necessary, we shall return the minute in the way you may direct. We observe that the small majority alluded to in our first sentence is not mentioned in the minute transmitted by you, but in a fuller copy which we received from a different quarter.—J. W.'

The Directors were to meet on the 1st of May to receive the decision of the Professors, but long before that date the terms of the letters they had addressed to the Chairman leaked out, and the controversy was renewed in the columns of the newspapers. Then Glengarry took an extraordinary step, which again shows what manner of man he was. He instructed his factor to write to both Maclachlan and

Carmichael instructing them to repair to the University of St. Andrews, there to undergo their trials before the Professors of that University. To Maclachlan Glengarry's word was, of course, law, and he obeyed the chief's mandate, while Carmichael, needless to say, entirely disregarded it. It subsequently transpired that Glengarry had himself written to the Glasgow Professors immediately the reference to them had been determined upon, and that Mr. Peter Anderson, Solicitor, Inverness, had written to his brother-in-law, Professor Cooper of Glasgow, on Carmichael's behalf. Glengarry alleged that Professor Cooper in Carmichael's interest had persuaded the two professors to refuse to undertake the task, a charge which a letter addressed by Professor Cooper to Carmichael does something to justify, but looking to all the facts in the case, and especially to Glengarry's own interference with the Professors, it is probably safe to say that these gentlemen saw they had been invited to mix themselves up in a squabble which they were better out of. At all events at this distance of time there cannot be any doubt that they took the only sensible course.

The correspondence which took place in the papers in the interval prior to the meeting on the 1st of May provides entertaining reading, and throws some side lights on the question. Glengarry's letters to the *Journal* are couched as a rule in the most violent language, and could have done little good to the cause of the man he was championing. One of the Directors, a supporter of Carmichael, writing to the *Courier* in reply to a letter in the *Journal,* observes, 'The rage of feudal patronage, lately displayed in the barefaced attempt to thrust Mr. Maclachlan down men's throats before they got a moment to prepare themselves for swallowing a compulsory morsel, has roused the feeling of independence among the gentlemen of Inverness, which has unfortunately no other mode of discovering itself than in opposition to Mr. Maclachlan,' and that was undoubtedly true. In a letter written in February, before Mr. Clark had withdrawn his application, another writer remarks, 'The

conduct of one of the Directors has also, I am afraid, induced more of individual passion to bear upon this point than ought in fairness to mingle with any question to be determined by the pure and stern dictates of justice. The rash conduct of his friend should not, however, be allowed to obliterate the recollection of Mr. Maclachlan's acknowledged merits. It may be his misfortune, but cannot be his fault, he is so patronised, nor would I have the modest claims of Mr. Clark overwhelmed beneath the imperial frown of any Highland chief, who may make a very respectable chief for all ordinary needs and purposes, and yet not be very eminently qualified to pronounce on classical literature.'

The meeting which had been called for the 1st of May, and at which the fate of the candidates was to be decided, was the Annual Meeting of the Directors, and was usually largely attended, as the meeting of the Commissioners of Supply for the county was held on the same day, and the Circuit Court about the same time. Thus a large number of the County Directors were usually in Inverness at that period. A week or two prior to the meeting Glengarry inserted in the *Inverness Journal* an address couched in grandiloquent terms and freely interlarded with italics, 'To the Free-Holders, the Heritors, Commissioners of Supply and Justices of the Peace, etc. etc., of the County of Inverness,' giving his own statement of the case, and asking them for their support. The address, which is too long to quote, begins as follows: 'Gentlemen,—the arduous struggle made by the *independent men* having the interest of the Highlands at heart, in order to obtain the best qualified teacher to the Inverness Academy, must be known to all of you, and I trust uninteresting to few, if any, among us.' In the following issue of the *Courier*, published two or three days before the meeting of the Directors, a Director of the opposite faction published a manifesto in reply to Glengarry's, which, after referring to Glengarry's action commanding his factor to issue a mandate to the candidates 'ordering them to repair to St. Andrews, there to be ex-

amined at his bidding,' concludes, 'It must give an additional impulse to that feeling of independence which has made the body of Directors resolve at all hazards to defend their own rights and rescue the Academy from the power of a would-be dictator.'

The contest had now resolved itself into a question as to which party could bring forward the greater number of votes on the 1st of May, and no stone seems to have been left unturned to find gentlemen willing to qualify themselves as Directors. Glengarry's controversial methods, and particularly the manner in which he hurled the most unfounded charges at the head of what he termed the Burghal party, that is, Provost Gilzean, and other Inverness citizens and their supporters, who had managed the affairs of the Academy since its foundation, excited strong resentment, and probably had as much to do as anything else with the manner in which a large number of citizens of Inverness came forward and qualified as Directors. In particular Glengarry, or Raigmore, it is difficult to say which, as the letters which appear in the *Journal* are usually written over a *nom-de-plume*, though from the style they are quite clearly the work of one or the other, accused the agent of the Bank of Scotland, in those days a man whose position gave him great power in the town, of having used his power and his knowledge of the financial position of several of the Directors to threaten them with financial embarrassment if they supported Glengarry. Accusations of that sort did nothing to sweeten the controversy, and they would certainly never have been made by a man possessed of a spark of common sense.

When the 1st of May arrived the excitement in the town was intense; but the meeting had to be postponed to the following day on account of the meeting of the Commissioners of Supply. Accordingly at twelve o'clock on the 2nd of May the Directors assembled in the Court House, a dirty, ill-furnished, ill-lit room at the corner of Church Street and Bridge Street, reached by a narrow flight of stone steps, and adjoining the equally dirty prison. Into the meeting-

place, we are told, the Directors had difficulty in making their way owing to the great number of citizens who had assembled. The room was packed to suffocation, and it was not until it had been partially cleared several times that the Directors could get admission to their seats, or the work of the day be proceeded with. When order had been somewhat established the Chairman reported that ten gentlemen had qualified themselves as Directors since the former meeting by the payment of £50 to the funds of the Academy. Eleven others immediately made similar donations, and were admitted Directors accordingly. In all, therefore, since the beginning of the contest forty-two new Directors had qualified, and the Academy funds had benefited to the extent of £2090.

When the roll was made up it was found that sixty-three Directors were present, and in the final divisions only one of those, Macleod of Macleod, did not vote. He probably left the meeting before the crucial division was reached, as in the early divisions he voted against Glengarry, which, seeing he was the chief of the Macleods, was only to be expected.

At the Annual Meeting the first business was always the election of a Chairman, and Baillie of Dochfour, seconded by Fraser of Relig, moved the election of Provost Gilzean, who had served the Academy in many capacities since its foundation. Grant of Corymony, seconded by Glengarry, proposed Raigmore, and on a vote being taken Provost Gilzean was elected by thirty-five to twenty-five, a result which made it pretty clear how the voting for the Classical mastership would go.

The meeting afterwards proceeded to the election of the Greek and Latin teacher, and the two candidates who had appeared at the former meeting, Mr. Ewen Maclachlan and Mr. A. N. Carmichael, appeared. The Chairman reported the result of the remit to Professors Young and Walker of Glasgow, and read their letters to him, whereupon a very long discussion ensued, which terminated at last in the

reading of the testimonials produced by the respective candidates. Glengarry then inquired of Mr. Carmichael whether he had gone to Glasgow with a view to be examined in terms of the remit. Mr. Carmichael replied that he had, and described the particulars of his visit, and then produced a letter addressed to him by Mr. John Hood, factor for Glengarry, requiring him (Mr. Carmichael) to proceed to St. Andrews for the purpose of being examined by two of the Professors in that University. Carmichael explained that he had not obeyed this mandate, while it appeared on the other hand that Mr. Maclachlan had obeyed it and had submitted to an examination the result of which, we are told, was very creditable to him, as was expressed in a certificate to that effect produced by Glengarry.

The fat was now in the fire, and a long and warm discussion took place on Glengarry's behaviour. A motion was moved by Fraser of Relig, and seconded by Sheriff Fraser-Tytler, 'that it is irregular, and unjustifiable, and highly disrespectful to the meeting that an individual Director should assume a power (as has been in this case) of giving a mandate to the candidates to repair to St. Andrews for examination without any authority from a General Meeting of the Directors, a power which belongs to the whole body alone.' Glengarry replied that it might have been irregular, for he was no regularly bred man of business or lawyer. He had acted on a resolution of the majority of the Directors, with the knowledge that there was no time to summon a second meeting, and he had had no intention of giving offence, or offering disrespect to the Directors. With this explanation the meeting expressed itself satisfied, and the motion was withdrawn.

Provost Robertson—Dr. Robertson of Altnaskiach—then moved the appointment of Carmichael, a motion which was seconded by Sheriff Fraser-Tytler. Mr. George Mackay, merchant, Inverness, seconded by Grant of Corymony, proposed Ewen Maclachlan, Mr. Mackay in a long speech pointing out the various qualifications of Maclachlan, and

describing the advantages which the Academy and the country at large would derive from his appointment to the vacant post.

At this stage of the proceedings the Rev. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill suggested that it would be advisable to clear the meeting of strangers, as they were about to proceed 'into an investigation of a very nice and delicate nature, in so far as it might regard the personal character of one of the candidates, and it were best that such disclosures should not attain any greater publicity than was absolutely necessary to guide the Directors in the performance of their duties.' A long discussion followed, Glengarry and Raigmore opposing the suggestion, and eventually Mr. Fraser withdrew his motion upon the understanding that whatever vote he might give 'he would stand excused for assigning for it any reason whatever.'

Dr. Nicol, in later days a very well-known citizen of Inverness, then proposed that as the remit to the professors at Glasgow had failed, it would be still proper to remit the candidates for trial somewhere else, a motion which received the support of Glengarry and Raigmore. A counter motion that the meeting should at once proceed to elect was, however, carried by thirty-six votes to twenty-six. The vote was thereupon immediately taken and by a similar majority Mr. Carmichael was elected.

The vote was apparently taken by calling the roll, for in the report in the *Courier* it is stated that several of the Directors prefaced their votes by speeches explaining the grounds on which they voted. Of these speakers Raigmore, Glengarry, Corymony, Mr. Shepperd, and Mr. Macandrew, the two latter solicitors in Inverness, embraced the part of Mr. Maclachlan, while on the other hand Mr. Anderson, banker, Mr. Edwards, a solicitor in Inverness and afterwards Sheriff-Substitute of the County, Fraser of Culbokie, and the Rev. Donald Fraser of Kirkhill (the latter gentleman in a long and argumentative speech, delivered, apparently, in forgetfulness of his former intimation that he would

assign no reason whatever for his vote) 'espoused the pretensions of Mr. Carmichael.'

That Maclachlan's supporters were by no means satisfied with the result is evident by the fact that Glengarry, John Macandrew, Dr. Nicol, Dr. Gray, James Beaton, solicitor, Inverness, and two others stated that they voted for Mr. Maclachlan under the express reservation that it should be competent for them to resort to any legal means which they might deem advisable for setting aside the decision of the majority to avoid a competitive trial of the candidates. Evidently they were of opinion that the competitive trial was as essential to the appointment of a teacher as was a Presbytery examination for a minister, a view of the law which, needless to say, had no foundation in fact, and which when they had recovered from the effects of their defeat they did not venture to put to the test.

Subsequent proceedings are best told in the words of the *Courier* report: 'When the election had thus terminated, Provost Robertson, after passing some remarks on the distinguished genius and the great literary attainments of Mr. Maclachlan, the unsuccessful candidate, moved that a sum of £100 be paid to him out of the Academy funds as reimbursement for the travelling charges to which he had been put during this contest. This motion was seconded by Relig, and carried unanimously. Mr. Fraser-Tytler moved that the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Maclachlan, with the assurance that this meeting considers it a circumstance highly creditable to the Academy of which they have the charge that two gentlemen of such high distinction for their literary attainments should have presented themselves as competitors on this occasion. This motion was seconded by Mr. Fraser of Culbokie, and was finally adopted as speaking the general sense of the meeting.'

The business of the day was not yet done, however, for before the meeting separated Mr. James Lyon, merchant, Inverness, one of Maclachlan's supporters, moved that 'an additional £20 should be made to the salary of Mr.

Clark as assistant Latin teacher and teacher of drawing in the Academy, that is, that £10 be added to his salary as assistant Latin teacher, and £10 to his salary as drawing master,' which motion was seconded by Glengarry and carried unanimously.

These grants to Maclachlan and Clark show that the Directors were in a generous mood, as indeed they could well afford to be, seeing that the contest had enriched the Academy to the extent of £2090. Perhaps they felt in voting them that they were in honour bound to make some payment to Maclachlan, as if he had not come forward there would have been no contest and, in consequence, no £2090, and that similarly an increase of salary was due to Clark for the benefits his application had conferred upon the institution. It is at all events pleasing to reflect that it was Glengarry who was really responsible for the suggestion that Clark's salary should be raised.

It was now eight o'clock in the evening and the business for which the meeting was assembled was not yet finished, but eight hours of discussion in that crowded, dirty, ill-lit room had proved more than enough for the Directors, and the meeting adjourned until the following day, when it was resolved to meet in the Town Hall. The contest was now over, but two small episodes which occurred at the adjourned meeting on the 3rd of May have to be recorded in order to complete the narrative. 'It was moved by Glengarry,' I quote from the Minutes, 'that the whole testimonials produced by both candidates be entered in the Minute Book, concluding by a letter from Drs. Hunter and Jackson, Professor of Humanity and Philosophy and Teacher of Greek in the College of St. Andrews, upon the examination of Mr. Maclachlan,' which was seconded by Mr. Beaton and agreed to, 'with this explanation, that no reference was made to the Professors of St. Andrews by the Directors of the Inverness Academy.' That is how it is worded in the Minute Book, and whatever the underlying reasons may have been for Glengarry's motion, it has proved of value not only to the

Historian of the Royal Academy of Inverness but also to all lovers of Celtic language and literature, to whom Maclachlan's testimonials can hardly fail to be of high interest.

The second episode was a motion by James Grant of Bught, seconded by Fraser of Relig, 'That the thanks of the Directors of the Academy be given to Professors Young and Walker of the University of Glasgow for their letter to the Chairman of 8th April last, and that the Chairman be requested to communicate the same to the above gentlemen,' a motion which was as fuel to the fire of Glengarry's Celtic spirit, and caused him indignantly to move as an amendment, 'That the Glasgow Professors having been simply requested to examine the candidates, and having refused to do so, it does not appear how they can be consistently entitled to the thanks of the Directors,' an amendment which sufficiently explained itself, and received the support of Glengarry's impulsive friend Raigmore. It was, however, lost by thirteen votes to twenty-one.

From the facts I have stated several things are, I think, clear. In the first place it is evident that Ewen Maclachlan was in every sense a most distinguished scholar, and in the second place that in a comparative trial such as his friends desired his opponent would simply have been overwhelmed. But as was more than once pointed out during the course of the contest, scholarship itself is not the only requisite for a successful teacher, and it is quite clear that Maclachlan suffered from some drawback or handicap which made it undesirable for the sake of the Academy that he should be its classical teacher. It may have been his age, which was forty-five, or it may have been some personal failing, which, though indignantly denied by his friends, is hinted at more than once in the course of the correspondence, or it may have been that those who really directed the fortunes of the Academy did not consider it advisable to have as its classical master a man of so many wide and divergent interests.

The really deciding factor in the case was, however, none of these. The appointment was decided, I am convinced,

by the action of Glengarry. To gain his end he threatened and cajoled in turn, and even let it be known that if Maclachlan were appointed he himself would take a house in Inverness and send his family to the Academy. Surely that would settle the matter. Perhaps it did. Glengarry in far Lochaber was bad enough, but the mere thought of Glengarry in Inverness, 'Tail' and all, was sufficient to send worthy citizens flying to invest £50 to keep him at a distance. We are told in Mackenzie's *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* that Maclachlan deeply felt what he considered the unworthy treatment experienced at the hands of his Norland countrymen; and frequently expressed himself to the effect that he was resolved never again to expose his peace of mind to the machinations of 'ambidexter politicians.' As a Highlander I must confess that my sympathies are, to a certain extent, with Maclachlan, and it undoubtedly would have been an honour to the Academy to have had him on its staff; but I must also confess that as regards the actual contest my sympathies are all on the other side. Glengarry attempted, as one of his opponents put it, to ram Maclachlan down the throats of the Directors, and there is little doubt that if he had succeeded it would have been an evil day for the Academy, not on Maclachlan's account, but on account of the interference it would have been subjected to by Glengarry and his friends. The contest, in other words, was not a contest between Maclachlan and Carmichael, but between Glengarry and Raigmore on the one part, and the men who had made and managed the Academy on the other.

An analysis of the voting gives some interesting results, and shows clearly how determined Glengarry was to have his own man appointed at all costs. At the meeting of 21st February three out of the four faggot Directors, as for want of a better name I may term them, were supporters of Glengarry, while out of the twenty who had qualified by 1st April twelve were of Glengarry's party. Of these one was his own factor, another, Macdonald of Barrisdale, was a cadet of his own clan, while of the remainder some were

solicitors and merchants in Inverness, who had business or other relations with Raigmore or Glengarry. The voting at the meeting of the 1st of April showed those who had the real interests of the Academy at heart that they would have to bestir themselves if they wished to prevent Glengarry's dictatorship, and accordingly of the twenty-two who qualified as Directors between the 1st of April and 2nd of May twelve were opposed to Glengarry. These twelve were well-known citizens of Inverness, while the ten who qualified to support Glengarry included only four resident in the town. But the voting list reveals a still more striking fact. Of the twenty-six Directors who voted for Maclachlan only four were Directors before the beginning of February 1820, the remainder were Directors manufactured for the occasion. Of the thirty-six who voted for Carmichael sixteen were old Directors and twenty faggot Directors. Many deductions could be drawn from these figures, but it is sufficient to point out that they make it perfectly clear that the real Directors were opposed to Maclachlan in the proportion of sixteen to four.

The four old Directors who voted for Maclachlan were Glengarry himself, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Raigmore, and Grant of Corymony. The sixteen who voted for Carmichael were George Inglis of Kingsmills, Baillie of Dochfour, James Grant of Bught, Provost Robertson, Phineas Mackintosh of Kinmylies, Hugh Fraser of Eskadale, Affleck Fraser of Culduthel, Lewis Grant, Alexander Anderson, Hugh Fraser, Ness-side; William Fraser-Tytler, William Fraser of Culbokie, Fraser of Relig, Fraser of Balnain, Rev. Donald Fraser, Kirkhill, and Provost Gilzean. The mere recital of these names will convince any one who knows anything of the history of Inverness that the sixteen old Directors who voted for Carmichael were men who in their day and generation had served Inverness and the Highlands wisely and well. And that I think is a sufficient judgment on the rights and wrongs of the controversy.

A few notes may be added on the two principal char-

acters in the contest. Maclachlan only survived for a year or two, dying on the 29th of March 1822. His dying request was that his body should be laid with the ashes of his fathers at the foot of his native mountains in far Lochaber, a request which was religiously complied with. His body was conveyed out of Aberdeen by what Mackenzie calls ' a great concourse of respectable citizens in and around Aberdeen, including the Professors of both Universities, the Magistrates of the City, and the Highland Society of Aberdeen.' Glengarry, accompanied by a large number of his clansmen dressed in their native garb, paid a last tribute of respect to his departed protégé and friend by meeting his remains and escorting them through the Lochaber country. We are told that when the funeral reached Fort William the crowd was so dense that it advanced with difficulty, and that the body was eventually laid to rest to the wail of the pipes in the presence of an enormous assemblage.

Carmichael remained in the Academy until 1824, when he was appointed classical master in the newly opened Edinburgh Academy, and there he remained until his death in 1847. He was born in 1794, and received his education at the Royal High School of Edinburgh, where he was a contemporary of Sir Robert Christison, and dux of the school. He was in his day a well-known Greek scholar, and published several books which had a considerable vogue. He married, in 1821, a daughter of John Macdonald of Garvamore, Badenoch—evidently in spite of Glengarry he bore the Clan Donald no grudge—and had five sons and five daughters. One of the former, James, in his turn became classical master in Edinburgh Academy, and is still affectionately remembered by many Edinburgh Academicals and his memory kept green by the Carmichael Class Club. Another son, John, became classical master in the Royal High School of Edinburgh, where his memory is perpetuated by the Carmichael Club and Medal. John's wife also was an accomplished classical scholar, as is shown by her graceful translations of Horace.

FROM THE VISION OF MAC CONGLINNE[1]

Aniar Mac Conglinne (Twelfth Century)

Versified by Alfred Percival Graves

Unto a vision of amaze,
That met my eyes in bye-gone days,
  Let all be listening now!
A mighty Coracle of Cake
Lay ready launched on New Milk Lake,
  Well stored from stern to prow.

We strode on board that Battle Ship;
'Twas meet a Warrior Crew should rip
  The Great Sea Dragon's scales!
Upon the monster's back she leaps
And O! our oars' tremendous sweeps
Uptear from out his weltering heaps,
  Like honey, his entrails.

At last a Royal Fort we reached;
With custards solidly impleached
  Were all its barricadoes;
We safely crossed its butter bridge,
Its rubble dyke—a wheat-flour ridge—
  And porky palisadoes.

A fortalice compact and good—
In pleasant stateliness it stood.
  I opened, on my word,
A hung-beef door of priceless cost,
And then a bread-crumb threshold crossed,
  'Twixt walls of white cheese curd.

Smooth pillars of ancestral cheese,
And, alternating well with these,
  The sappy bacon prop,
And silver post and stately beam
Of yellow curds and mellow cream
The roof held safely up.

[1] Founded on Professor Kuno Meyer's prose rendering of the twelfth-century burlesque of this name on pp. 20-22 of his *Ancient Irish Poetry*, Constable and Co., Ltd.

Behind it wells of pleasant wine
And frothy ale and bragget fine,
  Each full pool to the taste ;
And malt with smooth and wavy drip,
Over an oil spring's lazy lip,
  Flowed through the floor to waste.

A lake, no less, of pottage juicy
Under a layer of dripping oozy,
  Lay 'twixt it and the tide.
Its fences were of margarine,
And suet, with white-mantled screen,
  Crested the walls outside.

Great apple-tree of fresh perfume
Protected it, in pink-tipped bloom,
  Against the mountain blast ;
While grooves of leek and onion
And carrot shield it from the sun
  With vegetation vast.

Within, a welcome generous,
Red, firm-fed folk accorded us
  Unto their glowing hearth ;
Around the necks of each of these,
Seven strings of tripe and seven of cheese
  Hung heavy to the earth.

The Chieftain, cloaked in beef-fat good,
Beside his fair plump lady stood ;
  While, posted for attack,
Below the lofty cauldron's spit
I saw the Food Dispenser sit,
  His flesh-fork on his back.

Wheatlet, Milklet's Son I am,
Who was Son to Juicy Ham
  By my pedigree.
Honeyed Butter Roll his name,
Who by long ancestral claim
  Bears my bag for me.

Since of sheep-flesh he 's a glutton,
This my hound is Haunch of Mutton—
  Lovely leaps hath he !
With her spoon, beneath her nose,
Lard, my wife, across the brose
  Sweetly smiles on me.

Curds and Cream, my daughter beauteous,
Round the jack, for service duteous,
Constant praise has won.
Bigger than a brewer's vat,
Beaming out through folds of fat,
'Corned-Beef' is my Son.

'Spice-of-Spice,' with breath of bliss,
Is my wife's maid, well I wis,
At the peep of day,
Out o'er New Milk Lake she went
For the larder, well content,
Dainties to purvey.

Suet is my steed of steeds.
Where 's the Sire that so succeeds
At increasing studs ?
From his toil to give him ease,
See, a saddle of Cream-Cheese
From his back up-buds.

Then what necklaces delicious
Wrought of curds most large and luscious,
Round his shoulders flutter ;
While the halter and the traces,
So befitted to his paces,
Are best Irish butter.

THE LITERATURE OF THE SCOTTISH GAEL

Rev. Donald Maclean, Edinburgh

(*Continued from* p. 360, vol. vii.)

II

1745-1830

The debacle at Culloden which terminated the wasteful devotion of a splendid fidelity was more inglorious, and less beneficial, to the victors than to the vanquished. The genius of the people that had hitherto expressed itself in wars and conquests, in feats of personal valour, and in charging 'the enemy as fleet as the deer,' now found room for expansion in other spheres. The feuds and conflicts,

the jealousies of ruling chieftains, and the restlessness incidental to all these, were not fitted to foster an interest in literature and art. After the collapse of the Stuart cause, the Highlanders, with the rest of Scotland, gradually awoke to a true appreciation of their new opportunities, the wider outlook afforded by these, and the possibilities for asserting their power in other domains of life than those in which it had already excelled. The power of the chieftain was broken, the clan system was largely abolished, and with it slowly disappeared the pupilage which was its peculiar feature. Improved means of communication brought the north more in touch with the commercial centres of the south, the standard of living was raised, cattle gave way to sheep, tillage was improved, and agriculture showed signs of prosperity.

As early as 1770, there were large emigrations from the Uists and Skye to the Dominion of Canada. These people carried with them the traditions of their homeland. They were knit together by that almost indissoluble bond of blood, which attached them not merely to one another, but to their common traditions —hence the origin of the Gaelic printed literature of Canada.

Of all the factors that helped to develop literature, none is perhaps more worthy of grateful recognition than the work of the teachers of the S.P.C.K. and the Bounty Schools. In a Report of the former, of date 1729, it is stated that the teachers of those schools must be persons of piety, loyalty, and prudence, having a complete knowledge of literature, and that in that year there were not less than seventy-four teachers having under their care three thousand scholars. One of the directions given to the schoolmasters was that as soon as the scholars could read comparatively well, the masters should teach them to write a fair and legible hand, and also instruct them in the elements and most necessary rules of arithmetic, that they might be rendered more useful in their several stations

in the world, but that they teach no Latin nor Irish. Although for political purposes, the Gaelic language was barred as a study, and Latin probably from ecclesiastical reasons, there is good cause to believe that Gaelic [1] was made the medium of instruction, and that in this way phraseology was stereotyped, and the language of the Catechism and the Bible became the language of the common people. Zimmer shows that a deadly blow was given to the Irish language by the Catholic Church, inasmuch as the faithful children of the Holy Father were robbed of their most sacred possessions through the ignorance of their priests, who thought themselves too good to speak the language of their people. The opposite, however, holds true in regard to the Gaelic of Scotland, inasmuch as preaching holds a most prominent part in the order of the Protestant service. Further, the reading of the Bible, the Catechism, and other religious books, and the catechising of old and young individually, were carried on in the language which the people could best understand. Quietly, amidst the many turmoils of political convulsions, these teachers of the church were sowing the seeds of religion and helping to retain and perpetuate the language of the community, until, as in the Highland glades the spring flowers show their heads after the winter's snows have thawed away, a luxuriant crop of national literature blossomed with the most seductive hues after the long and cloudy day and the dreary night of political unrest.

It must not be forgotten that James Macpherson, during this period, like a brilliant meteor, shot across the literary firmament, dazzling the eyes of the European litterateurs with the Epics of Ossian. His writings were the subject of a stern and bitter strife. They were exhaustively scrutinised and subjected to a most critical analysis, which had the effect of drawing the attention

[1] This authentic example from the old-time schoolroom may serve to illustrate the point. 'Ciod is ciall do "*gèneration*," Chailein, arsa maighstir Sgoil. Sron daimh na tairbh arsa Cailean.' 'What is the meaning of *generation*, Colin, said the schoolmaster. The nose of an ox or a bull, said Colin.' The answer was prompted by a wag.

of many scholars to the possible sources from which Macpherson had derived his writings, and in creating an interest in, and an enthusiasm for, the ancient language and literature of the Gaels, which have not yet ebbed out.

The Reformed Faith was established now, not merely in the State, but also in the affections of the people. The waves of religious revival that sprang up in the south rolled onwards to the northern counties, and to the utmost limits of the Lewis, Skye, Easter Ross, and Caithness, which were all more or less affected. An enthusiasm for the Bible, and for religious books containing the doctrines of grace, sprang up with these awakenings, which could only be satisfied by providing a suitable literature for the people. The Gaelic Bible, the Catechism, and Confession of Faith were in their hands; excellent translators were busy; and from the native soil itself sprang up men of repute, who were able to sing in the vernacular devout songs of encouragement and warning to anxious believers. These are the chief features in the development of the literature of the Gael in this period, which is the richest in the history of the Gaelic language; and in view of the circumstances of the times, and the large part which religion held in the thoughts and lives of the people, it is not to be wondered at that religious books greatly predominated. The entire literature of the time is approximately classified as follows:—

Theological.—Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, 1750, and three other editions before 1830; Sum of Saving Knowledge, 1767; Menzies's Christian Doctrine, 1781 and 1815; Alleine's Alarm to Sinners, 1781, and five other editions before 1830; and the Saints Pocket Book, 1823; Guthrie's Great Interest, 1783 and 1832; the Christian Soldier, 1804; Thomas A Kempis's Imitation of Christ, 1785; Rev. David Campbell's Sufferings of Christ, 1786 and 1800; Shepherd's Christian Pocket Book, 1788; Duncan Lothian's the Pope and the Reformation, 1797; Dodsley's Economy of Human Life, 1806; Boston's Fourfold State,

1811 and 1825; Doddridge's Rise and Progress, 1811 and 1823; One Thing Needful, 1811 and 1812; Salvation by Grace, 1813; Covey, An Account of, 1813; Gilfillan on the Sabbath, 1813; Dyer's Christ's Famous Titles, 1817; Newton, Life of, 1817; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 1812 and 1819; Hannah Sinclair's Letter on the Christian Religion, 1819; Richmond's Dairyman's Daughter, 1822; Bunyan's Barren Fig Tree, 1824; Bunyan's Death of Mr. Badman, 1824; Bunyan's World to Come, 1825; Bunyan's Sighs from Hell, 1825; Faith and Salvation, 1825; Brook's Apples of Gold, 1824; Beith on the Antibaptists, 1824; Colquhon's Covenant of Grace, 1826; Flavel's Token for Mourners, 1828; Fraser on Baptism, 1828; Dunn's Life and Conversion, 1829; Munro's Life of Dr. Love, 1830; Heavenly Footman, 1829; Gospel Compulsion, 1830.

HOMILETICAL.—Crawford's Sermons, 1791; Sermon to Women, 1795; Isaac Watts's Sermon to Young People, 1795; Broughton's Sermon, 1797 and 1804; Rev. Hugh MacDiarmid's Sermons, 1804; Dr. Dewar's Sermons, 1805, 1829-30; Blair's Sermons, 1812; Burder's Sermons, 1821; Rev. Malcolm MacLaurin's Exhortation, 1822-1826; Spence's Sermon on Infant Baptism, 1825; Seventeen Sermons, 1827; Rev. Duncan Grant's Address to Children, 1829; the Gaelic Preacher, 1830.

DEVOTIONAL.—Church of England Book of Common Prayer, 1794 and 1819; Office of Communion, 1797; Dr. John Smith's Prayers for Families, 1808; Rev. William Smith's Sacred Lessons, 1810; Saints' Pocket Book, 1823; Earle's Sacramental Exercises, 1827; Innes's Instruction for Young Enquirers, 1827; Peter Macfarlane's Collection of Prayers, 1829.

CATECHETICAL and CONFESSIONAL.—Shorter Catechism, Synod of Argyle's (five editions before 1745 and forty-eight other editions before 1830); William's Shorter Catechism, 1773, 1779 and 1820; Isaac Watts's Catechism for Children,

1774; the Reformed Catechism, 1779; Young Communicant's Catechism, 1798 and 1811; Mother's Catechism, 1798 (and eight other editions before 1830); Brown's Catechism for Children, 1799, 1802; Shorter Catechism with Proofs by Morrison, 1800 (and six other editions before 1830); Gray's Catechism, 1813; Thomson's Sacramental Catechism, 1813 and 1825; Dr. Ross's 1820; MacKenzie's Church Catechism, 1821; Campbell's Catechism on Christ's Kingdom, 1824; Key to First Initiatory, 1827; Beith's Catechism on Baptism, 1827; Dr. MacDonald's, 1829; MacBean's, 1829; Confession of Faith, 1756, 1757, 1816-1821.

ANTHOLOGICAL (*Sacred*).—David McKellar's Hymns, 1752; Hymn of Praise, 1752; Dugald Buchanan, 1767 (and fourteen other editions before 1830); Duncan MacFadyen's Spiritual Hymns, 1770; Duncan Kennedy's Collections of Hymns, 1786; Duncan Macdougall's Spiritual Hymns, 1800; William Gordon's Spiritual Songs, 1802; Hymn of Praise by a Christian in Argyleshire, 1803; Alec Clark's Christian Hymns, 1806; Dr. Dewar's Hymns, 1806; Angus Kennedy's Hymns, 1808; Rev. Peter Grant's, 1809 (and seven other editions before 1830); Margaret Campbell's Spiritual Hymns, 1810; John Rose, Collection of Hymns, 1815; Donald Matheson's Spiritual Hymns, 1816, 1825; Inverness Collection of Hymns, 1818 and 1821; Archibald Maclean's Spiritual Hymns, 1818; John Munro's Collection of Hymns, 1819; Dr. James MacGregor's Spiritual Hymns, 1819 and 1821; Ronald MacDonald's Hymns, 1821; Donald Macrae's Spiritual Hymns, 1825; Donald MacKenzie's Spiritual Poems, 1827; Hugh Fraser's Spiritual Hymns, 1827-1830; John Morrison's Spiritual Hymns, 1828; John MacDonald's Embarrassment of the Church of Scotland, 1828; John MacDonald's New Year Gift of Hymns, 1829.

ANTHOLOGICAL (*Secular*).—Alexander Macdonald's Poems, 1751, 1764, and 1802; James Macpherson's Temora,

1763; Duncan Ban McIntyre's Songs, 1768 (second and third editions in 1790 and 1804); Ronald Macdonald's Collection of Songs, 1776; 1782 and 1809; Forrest's Mirthful Songs, 1777; Lothian (D.) Poems, 1780; Gillies's Collection of Songs, 1780-1786; Smith's Ancient Songs, 1780; Peter Stewart's Songs, 1783; Hill's Ancient Erse Songs, 1784; Angus Campbell's Songs, 1785; Brown's Congratulatory Poem, 1785; Alexander Cameron's Songs and Poems, 1785; Margaret Cameron's Songs and Poems, 1785 and 1805; Smith's Dargo and Gaul, ancient poem of Ossian, 1787; Young's Ancient Gaelic Poems, 1787; Kenneth MacKenzie's Songs, 1792; Alexander Macpherson's Songs, 1796; Duncan Campbell's Songs, 1798; Allan MacDougall's Songs, 1798 and 1829; Donald Dewar's Songs, 1800; Inverary Ballads, 1800; Christian and Donald Cameron's Poems, 1800; MacGregor's Songs, 1801 and 1818; John MacKenzie's Green Book, 1801; Robert Stewart's Songs, 1802; George Gordon's Songs, 1804; Duncan Cunningham's Songs, 1805; Inverness Collection of Songs, 1806; Ossian's 3 vol. edition (H. S.), 1807; Donald Macleod's Songs, 1811; Peter Macfarlane's Songs, 1813; Turner's Collection of Songs, 1813; Donald Macdonald, A Song on Napoleon, 1814; Alex. Campbell, Albyns Anthology, vols. i. and ii., 1816-1818; Macallum's Ossianic Poems, 1816; E. MacLachlan's Metrical Effusions, 1816; Walker's Songs, 1817; John Maclean's Songs, 1818; Macgregor's Melodious Warbler, 1819; Rev. D. Macallum's Songs, 1821; Alex. Mackay's Songs, 1821; B. Urquhart's Song to H. S. London, 1827; James Munro, The Songster, 1829, The Jewel, 1830; Translated Songs, 1829; Rob Donn's Songs, 1829; Allan McIntyre's Songs, 1829; William Ross's Songs, 1830.

EDUCATIONAL.—Macdonald's Gaelic Dictionary, 1741; Shaw's Grammar, 1778, Dictionary, 1780; Rev. Patrick Macdonald's Gaelic Airs, 1781; Mackintosh's Proverbs, 1785, and 1819; Franklin's Way to Wealth, 1785; Robert Macfarlane's Gaelic Vocabulary, 1795; A. Stewart's Gram-

mar, 1801-1812; Rose of the Field (periodical), 1803; Robertson's Gaelic Dictionary, 1803; MacLaurin's Text Book, 1811; Peter Macfarlane's G. and E. and E. and G. Vocabulary, 1815; School Books, Class 2nd, 3rd, and 4th editions, 1816; Elements of Gaelic, 1816; Rational Primer, 1819; Rev. F. MacBean's Spelling Book, 1824-25-27; Four editions (Class II.) S. P. C. K. School Books,—General Assembly School Books, 1824; Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, 1825; Currie's Gaelic Grammar, 1828; Highland Society's Dictionary, 1828; Dr. Norman Macleod's Collection for Schools, 1828; Neil M'Nish on Preserving Gaelic, 1828; Highland Messenger (periodical), 1829-1830.

THE BIBLE.—N. T. 1767 (and several other editions before 1830), O. T. in four parts, 1783-1801; O. T. and N. T. 1807 (and various other editions before 1830); Pulpit Bible, 1826; Synod of Argyle's Psalms in metre, 7th ed. 1751; Macfarlane's ed. 1753 (and twenty other editions before 1830); Macfarlane's version with Brown's notes, 1814; Smith's version 1787 (and twenty-two other editions before 1830); Smith's Psalms, 1801 (suppressed); Ross's version, 1807 (and four other editions before 1830); General Assembly's version, 1826 (and four other editions before 1830). The Bible (O. T.), ed. 1783-1801, fixed the standard of Gaelic orthography, and it can be safely said that what the authorised English Bible was to English literature, even more than that was the Gaelic Bible to the literature of the Highlands.

The religious literature arranged under the above categories is largely translation. The theological books are translations of classical puritanic compositions, and the number of editions through which these passed is sufficient proof of their wide circulation, and of the interest of the Gaelic community in them. The evangelical doctrines were new and fascinating to the people as a whole. Scottish theology did not occupy the prominence which English theology did, yet Boston's Fourfold State was

a household work among the Highlanders. It was such books as these that formed the staple food of the mind of the devout Highlanders, and their attitude to religious movements and creeds was defined for them by the theological opinions therein discussed. It is surprising that none of the Highland clergy, who had full mental and educational equipment for the work, did not systematise and formulate their religions doctrines in the language of the people. No effort is discernible to discuss theologically the great doctrines of the Atonement, Justification by Faith, and others, which entered into the basis of the religious thought of the time. When Daniel Campbell of Glassary published his book on the Sufferings of Christ, which passed into fourteen editions before 1851, it was in the English language this was done, even though this devout and earnest Christian minister was, in the esteem of his brethren, capable of translating the Confession of Faith into Gaelic, and also the Psalms and Paraphrases.

The department of Homiletic literature shows the same sterility as far as native ability is concerned; yet it is only here we have the few original books there are in circulation about this time. Of these the Sermons of MacDiarmid are understood to be translations from a Scottish divine, while the Popular Sermons of Dr. Blair are also translations. The latter served as valuable pulpit aids to the indolent and indifferent clergy, of whom there are many in every age. Of this class, the minister of Lochalsh, who was a greater expert in the chase than in the pulpit, is a striking example. While in the homiletic literature we have largely the ethical teaching of the old and new moderates, in the theological literature, circulated by the directors of the society schools, only evangelical thoughts, conceptions, and doctrines have been put in circulation, a fact which seems to indicate that the reading public differed from their preachers in matters of faith and doctrine.

The Devotional literature comprises prayer books and

communion addresses, and is not extensive or important. The striking feature of the Catechetical literature is the vast number of editions through which the Shorter Catechism passed, and the variety of these editions. This little book, which circulated perhaps more than any other outside the Psalm Book and the Bible in the Highlands of Scotland, was the great medium of instruction in the schools and in the family.

It was at this period that the first attempt was made at a scientific study of the language, and now we have the beginnings and development of grammars and dictionaries, both of which passed through the printing presses, and with these unquestionably began a real and successful application of scholarship to the scientific study of the Gaelic language. Dr. Stewart's grammar still holds its own, while the dictionaries are still consulted with benefit by students. That monumental work, the Highland Society Dictionary, which owes much of its value to the erudition of Dr. Mackintosh Mackay, is not likely to be superseded. The books issued to the schools are numerous and largely contain religious pieces, well printed, in good idiomatic Gaelic, while the dawn of the rich periodical literature is ushered in by the appearance of the Rosroine. The literature which is comprised under this group contains very little of a purely secular character, and nothing of a philosophic nature. Even the social and economic movements of the country found no expression in the literature of the Gael, beyond a translation of Franklin's (Dr. Benjamin) the Way to Wealth. This booklet, which created considerable stir in the English-speaking world, and formed the basis of Adam Smith's introductory chapters to the Wealth of Nations, was translated into Gaelic at the instigation of the Earl of Buchan, who writes a preface to the book. The Colonies were attracting the interest of statesmen as well as opening up fields in which the Highland population could find happy settlements. Whether this pamphlet was in the interests of emigra-

tion or not, it is difficult to determine, but it is interesting as being the only one of its kind of which any copies are now known to exist. In Dr. W. L. Mathieson's recently published book the Awakening of Scotland, p. 124, the statement is made that Paine's Rights of Man was translated into Gaelic and distributed in the North. This statement cannot be verified for the good reason that the book was not published. If it were translated it is not at all likely that a book which caused such commotion in the English-speaking world would have been unknown in the Highlands. Copies of the English edition, however, circulated as far north as Stornoway. But it is interesting to record that on 16th October 1824, Thomas Hardy, formerly Secretary of the London Corresponding Society, wrote to Francis Place, the well-known reformer, as follows: 'At the same time you will receive a copy of the Declarations of Rights of Men and Citizens adopted by the National Convention of France, 23rd June 1793, translated into Gaelic by the Rev. Dr. Shaw, and printed at my expense. Some of the copies have lain by me for many years. It has now become a curiosity.'—(Place's Collection, British Museum; addl. MSS., No. 27816 F. 233.) This hitherto unknown Gaelic work cannot be found among Place's collection. Yet in view of Hardy's direct and clear statement it is impossible to doubt that the translation was effected, though probably never circulated. The translator, 'Dr.' Shaw, is in all probability the Rev. William Shaw (1749-1831), the lexicographer and grammarian. But Shaw, though an M.A. of Glasgow and B.D. of Cambridge, is not known to have been a Doctor of Divinity, Medicine, or Law. Shaw, who was ordained at Ardclach in October 1779, demitted his charge in August of the following year and removed to London. There he came in contact with the famous men of letters of the time. Among them was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who bade farewell to Shaw, as the latter was proceeding north to collect for his Dictionary, in this characteristic fashion:

'Sir, if you give the world a vocabulary of that language, while the Island of Great Britain stands in the Atlantic Ocean your name will be mentioned.' Shaw, influenced by Johnson, renounced Presbyterianism, and entered the Church of England as Rector of Chelvey, Somerset, 1795. He graduated B.D. of Cambridge, 1800. It should be noted that Paine co-operated with Condorcet in drawing up the famous Declaration.

It is in the field of poetry that the Highland literature shows the richest products, of which Highlanders can boast neither vainly nor unjustifiably. Among Gaelic religious poets, Dugald Buchanan (1716-1768) occupies a position of incontestable supremacy. In the lucidity of felicitous style, in the majestic flow of sublime conceptions, in the vivid realism of personified abstractions, in the impressive grandeur of massive imagery, and in the graphic and dramatic effect of intense fervour, his poems not merely excel the best efforts of the creative power of religious Highland poets, but they can bear comparison with similar classics of other languages. If one reads his Day of Judgment with a painful feeling of harsh and overawing severity, it must not be forgotten that the poet was under the dominion of an overmastering passion for the salvation of men, which he expresses in an effort to produce on the mind a deep impression of the issues of good and ill, and the reality of the judgment of God. He aims at quickening the mental torpor of his countrymen with startling conceptions of the magnitude, the variety, and infinite shapes and degrees of sin, the efficiency of the Sacrifice of Christ, and the faithfulness of His free and sovereign grace, borrowing from the Bible and from nature the figures and images necessary to emphasise his central theme—the awful demerit of sin. Demons and unbelievers in hopeless misery are depicted with the clear realism of a visible procession. The doom of the world and the destiny of the race, the being and attributes of God, the atonement of Christ,

and the ineffable glory of the Judge moving in stately majesty to the last great assize, the eternal bliss of the blessed, and kindred themes, which hitherto were hidden in the turgid sentences of the various theological schools, are now brought by this poet of faith and genius, in his grand bursts of imagination and feeling, within the circle of the common thoughts of the people, and translated into their language with the first perfect accents of modern Gaelic speech. The kind of criticism that condemns the poet as if he cherished a perverse severity, is an ungenerous appreciation of the closing appeal of his prologue to the Day of Judgment :—

> 'And bless to every one this song
> Who will in love its lessons learn,'

and of his tenderness and suppressed emotion as he recoils from entering on the painful duty of describing the state of the lost :—

> 'We may put down their grievous cry
> In such harrowing words as these.'

Though at times his imagery may be uncongenial, and even fantastic, no one can read the poems of Buchanan without a feeling of wonder at the sublime proofs of undeniable genius that accumulate with a closer study of the serious vehemence of his deep thoughts on the world that is, and the mysteries of the world unseen.

Dr. James Macgregor (1759-1830), the pioneer-missionary of Nova Scotia, who was also a Perthshire man by birth, ranks perhaps next to Buchanan as the poet of the sublime. The great doctrines of grace formed his themes. In spontaneous heart gushings, overflowing with tender affection for his expatriated countrymen, in vigorous harmonious verse, he succeeds in adapting these great themes of revealed religion to the attractive melodies of the people. The best and most polished of his poems are: On the Translation of the Bible, The Gospel, The Complaint, The Last Judgment, and The Righteousness of Christ. Most of

his poems were composed, he says himself, ' when travelling the dreary forests of America.' In addition to a collection of hymns, he translated into Gaelic but did not publish the Confession of Faith, more than one hundred of the Psalms of David in metre, and most of the Scottish Paraphrases.

Next in popularity to the poems of Buchanan are those of the Rev. Peter Grant (1783-1867), Baptist minister of Grantown-on-Spey. Though lacking the imaginative power of the Rannoch poet, Grant nevertheless succeeded in a marked degree in clothing the brighter aspects of the evangelical faith in such winsome and felicitous verse as touched the tenderest chords of his countrymen's hearts, and kindled their devotional feeling into a burning flame. Grant showed unmistakable signs of being influenced by Isaac Watts.

The output of Gaelic verse was very considerable and of varying merit. These poets were all didactic, and rhymed utterances were the usual vehicles for exhortation and warning. They were a valuable adjunct to the Church. Their themes, which were nearly always borrowed from revelation, were developed with an intensity of feeling, severity of tone, penitential sorrow, and self-depreciation, as reflected not merely the sternness of environment, but also the deep religious convictions of the writers. The mystical element in the religion of the Highlanders has not been reflected in their poetry in proportion to its prominence in their mode of thought and severe introspection. This is due undoubtedly to the influence of Buchanan, the founder of modern sacred poetry. His themes were borrowed, and his method was followed by nearly all his successors. The phenomenon of mysticism did not find a place in the practical teaching of that poet. Mackay of Mudale, Matheson of Helmsdale, Mrs. Clark of Badenoch, John Maclean of Caolas and Nova Scotia, and some others show traces of it, but unquestionably its best exponent was the illiterate weaver and

poet of Petty, Donald MacRae (1756-1837). Amongst the works of God in providence and grace he moves softly and solemnly, delicately tracing as he proceeds the unfolding of the Divine purposes, interpreting their meaning, and causing his picture to glow with his own warm and earnest mysticism. As if afraid of the vagaries of the imagination, he proceeds to express his own experience in this striking description and definition:—

'She, flying and soaring
Like a bird in the skies,
Spurns the restraining
Of her fleshly desires.

Eggs for quick hatching
In her presence I found;
By an hour of her brooding
Her chicks chuckled loud.

Quick hatching, I said,
But what gain I thereby,
If the least trifling word
Sets my passion on fire.

She, flattering and kind,
Drags me unwilling aside,
And drugs my poor mind
With world shadows that glide.'

He was quick in repartee, and his humour and happy disposition always served him to good purpose.

Elegiac verses form a considerable proportion of the large output of the poetry under review. Men and women of piety, who left a deep impression on the age, are idealised in fluent language, subdued by touches of moving pathos, and vague, indefinable sorrow, so characteristic of the intense concentration of the Gaelic bard, continuing entrenched in the seclusion of his own isolated world, quite unaffected by any external developments. Satire was also freely used by those religious poets as a moral corrective. MacLauchlan of Dores (1729-1801) with righteous anger vigorously lashed the abuse of card-playing,

with its baneful associations, and succeeded in largely uprooting the practice. Donald Matheson of Kildonan (1719-1782), whose reproving satires were popularised by their sprightliness and chiming melody, wielded great influence as a purifier of his countrymen's morals. The burning ecclesiastical questions of the period, such as the abuse of patronage, the religious apathy, and the worldliness of the ministry, have received the attention of the satirists. Unhappily an element of fierce vindictiveness is painfully evident, but it is wholly confined to the satires which celebrate the conflict between the separatist section of that unlicensed order of pious religious speakers known as the 'men,' and the organised ministry.[1]

The religious poetry was to a large extent discursive and argumentative, and many of the poems are theological dissertations, which were intended and fitted to instruct the people in the doctrines of the Reformed faith. For the poets wielded a great influence, and they were useful auxiliaries to the Church in disseminating evangelical doctrines, and in formulating the religious views of the community. At times the poetry rises to a sublime height, and although pieces of adoration and devotion are not too conspicuous, a spirit of deep devoutness moves through the whole. As a part of the literature of the

[1] Peter Stuart (1763-1840), catechist in Strathspey, Strathdearn, and Strathnairn, a native of Caithness, thus attacks the ministry in his song 'Oran na Cleir'

'Biad sud na ciobardan bronach truagh
A thog an stiopan as an luath,
Air son biadh is eudach is onoir shaoghalt,
Ghabh craicin chaorach gu mealladh sluaigh.

The Rev. John Macdonald, minister of Alvie from 1806 till his death, fulminates against Peter Stuart, whom he describes as *Graidhean* in a long anonymous poem entitled *The Wolf Unmasked*, of which the following verse is a mild example :—

'Feumaidh muilt-fheoil as cearcan
Bhi gle phailt air a bhord an ;
Feumaidh bior a bhi laimh ribh
'S toil le *Graidhean* feol rosda ;
Feumaidh buideal le siucar,
Air son fliuchadh an scornan
Measg a chuideachd is fiughail
Mar am burn bhi 'ga dhortadh.'

times, it is the most valuable and interesting, not only as proving the genius of the bards, but as reflecting phases of religious thought which, with the changing times, have fallen into abeyance.

It was during this period that secular poetry reached the zenith of its imaginative brilliance and the nadir of pernicious suggestiveness. The poets reflect the spirit of their age, and the dark stains on the beauty of their wonderful creations may only be the reflection of the conventions of their time. William Ross, who was restive under the moral restraint of the 'Pauline Creed,' was a precentor in the parish church of Gairloch, an officer whose moral character should defy the finger of scorn. Yet the minister of religion here condoned the moral delinquencies of the local laird, the sire of a numerous progeny (not all born of wedlock), in the local presbytery, on the ground that the delinquent had presented a 'mort-cloth' to the parish. Members of that same reverend court had on another occasion their gravity disturbed much more than their moral sense by the rehearsal of an obscene song by William Mackenzie, the cripple Catechist of Gairloch, who appeared before them in his own behalf. Alexander Macdonald, who could apparently with equal facility, and with as little remorse, forsake his wife as his creed, poured out his wild and coarse effusions in the ears of a people whose spiritual guide dared to publish a pamphlet on adding to the strength of Britain by fornication. While acknowledging that the ethical code, by which high and low regulated their lives, had not yet attained to that lofty standard by which indecency in speech is condemned as a breach of high moral principles, an indiscriminate laudation of all the poets of this period would be a distinct disservice to the literature of the country. Without minimising their rude defects while treating of human nature, it could not be forgotten that they could control the baser passions of their own, and its great resources served them nobly in translating nature and life into those

glowing and fascinating literary achievements that have won for them a fame that will die only with their race. In forming a true estimate of this poetry, without having regard to the unimpeachable or impeachable morals, or other extraneous merits or demerits, of the authors, the task must be undertaken with sympathetic interest and an intelligent knowledge of the music and meaning of words which form the external expression of the poets' intuition, rapture, and swift vision. Any effort at classifying those poets under the categories of Jacobite, Amorous, Bacchanalian, Ethical, etc., is more pedantic than precise, and ignores the patent fact that all poets were the exponents of the race spirit that incarnated in the family tie which stifled all political expansion, opposed alien ideas, and invincibly resisted foreign rule. They were amorous, like most people, by an instinct, which is not confined to them alone. They were Bacchanalian by reason of an inherited trait of character by no means accurately described as sordid. The poets, in fact, embodied the genius of a nation which they expressed with such intensity, passion, and force, in those wonderful images of their creative power as truly claims for this period the name of the golden age of Gaelic poetry. This lyric poetry is more accurately designated under the heads of descriptive and interpretative. It was in the power of vivid description that the poets rose to the full measure of their stature. Foremost among the secular descriptive poets is Alexander MacDonald (*circa* 1700—?). With a nature composed of the dual elements of ferocity and tenderness, his poems show equally striking contrasts. Sugar Brook is the antithesis of the Birlinn of Clan Ranald, and the Elegy to the Dove is an arresting contrast to the Song to the Clans. The Birlinn is generally acknowledged to be the masterpiece in Gaelic poetry. The description is truly wonderful. The fierce conflict of the elements seemed to appeal to his turbulent spirit; while the 'lusty and sinewy, stout and stalwart callants,' who strain their

'knotty muscles' in a defiant venture with the challenging tempest, could never have been drawn by a physical derelict. The creaking of thafts, the cracking of spars and pins, the snapping of cordage, the boiling rage of baffled waves, and the deep yawning sea troughs, are perhaps the counterpart of a violent mental agitation, and an inward alertness and rapidity of motion and action. The scene has a distinctness and realism that is ever faithful to the reality of the borrowed images. The poet projects his own personality into his work through the medium of a vigorous imagination so successfully, that his thrilling achievement has a vitality and naturalness that secure it a permanence independent of its merit as a skilful adapting of musical and picturesque phraseology.

But none of the bards has so effectively woven the elements of pathos into their versification as John Roy Stuart of Strathspey (eighteenth century). Nor is he excelled as an interpreter of the feelings of pain, resentment and remorse. The gloom of the caves and fastnesses of his native land is transmuted to a mournful dirge piquant with sorrow. Baffled and battered, he, true to the Celtic character, resigns to destiny, and translates the depressed mood of the pensive soul of defeated Jacobitism into angry growls of no hope.

Keenly sensitive to the feelings that nature can inspire, Duncan Ban Macintyre (1724-1812), that unsophisticated child of nature, caresses the Ben with all the affection of real filial attachment. He smooths her wrinkles and decks her with resplendent glory. Never did a bride go forth to meet the bridegroom bejewelled and spangled as she. Coire Cheathaich and Ben Dorain reflect idealism as well as that close affinity between man and nature which characterised the youth of the Celtic people. Nature's mystic voice vibrates on sympathetic chords, and the dulcet notes, in perfect harmony of sounds, are lilting to the outer world on waves of choice words without a jarring note. Not less successful is he in his description

of woman. Woman had slowly come to her own under the external influence of civil and religious laws. Impelled by the Celtic spirit that ever seeks after the ideal, the poet pursues the eternal illusion, beyond his reach and grasp but not beyond his thought. The ideal woman—Mari bhan Og, for example—is drawn with great delicacy and intimacy, and with a wealth of detail, fittingly arranged, with the aid of apposite similes from nature, into a perfect image intermediate between man and the supernatural world. Not only in her external aspect is she depicted, but also in her inward life of emotions and feelings, and always flawless. When the bard's spirit had been liberated from its confinement within the circle of the family of the chieftains, it spread abroad and idealised heroes of the common stock with equal vigour and effect. The elegiac poetry is full of this.

William Ross (1762-1790) is unrivalled as an interpreter of the emotion of love in its ecstasy and depression. Though less original [1] in his descriptions than many poets

[1] William Ross was apparently a copyist of William Mackenzie, the Lochcarron poet, who preceded him by at least a generation, as can be seen from the following comparison :—

(*a*) 'Gur bachlach, dualach, casbhuidh, cuachach
T-alt mun cuairt an ordugh ;
'San tha gach ciabh mar fhainn air sniamh
'S gach aon air fiamh an oir dhiubh.'
(Mackenzie, *Nighean Fhir na Comraich.*)

'S bachlach, dualach, casbhuidh, cuachach,
Caradh suaineas gruaig do chinn,
Gu h-aluinn, boidheach, faineach, or bhuidh
An curaibh seoghin san ordugh grinn.'
(Ross, *Feasgair Luain.*)

(*b*) 'Do sheang shlios fallainn mar an eala
No mar channach sleibhe.' (Mackenzie.)

'Sheang shlios fallain air bhla cannaich,
No mar an eal' air a chuan.' (Ross.)

(*c*) 'Siunnailt t-eugais 's tearc ri fhaotainn
Gur tu reul nan oighean.' (Mackenzie.)

'S tearc an sgeula siunnailt t-eugaisg
Bhi ri fhaotainn 'san Roinn Eorp.' (Ross.)

Besides these, there is a whole verse borrowed by Ross in his 'Praise of the Highland Maid' from Mackenzie.

of less repute, in accurate analysis of the tender passion, as well as in elegance, fluency, grace of diction, and penetrative notes that go to the very heart, he occupies a place all his own. Behind his rapturous ecstasy 'a tear is not slow to glisten.' In Feasgair Luain the one follows the other in quick succession. The buoyant hope and gleaming eye give place to pining love and leaden-eyed despair. In all his love-songs he is always at his best as an interpreter.

Ewen MacLachlan (1775-1822) described and interpreted the seasons. Though his classic lore occasionally stiffens verses otherwise flexible and smooth, his poems deserve the high place they have held among his countrymen. His adaptation of the melody of the Swan on the Lake to a theme different from that to which the music was first set, shows a susceptibility to, and a fine appreciation of, the beautiful in nature characteristic of the true poet.

In the poetry of this period, the strictly pastoral falls short, both in point of quality and quantity, of what might be expected of poets with a quick eye to catch the simple scenes and events in pastoral life and nature. Still the life in the sheiling, the milkmaid, and the reapers, have been represented with the vividness and simplicity of real idyllic charm.

The bottle, the bowl, and the cup have been decreed worthy of the praises of those that invoked the muses. The so-called Bacchanalian poems are numerous, and as literary productions merit high praise. Wild carousals and noisy scenes round the drinking-table are features of the social life of the eighteenth century of such common occurrence that the poets, as faithful chroniclers of all phases of life, are valuable moral statisticians. Is there anything in the character of the Celt that fairly explains this? Has his environment anything to do with it? Have we here a craving for that form of gaiety which produces a forgetfulness of hard conditions and sad destinies?

If it be true, as Renan alleges, that 'the essential element in the Celt's poetic life is the *adventure*—that is to say, the pursuit of the unknown; an endless quest after an object ever flying from desire,' then the marked tendency to quaff the cup can be partially at least accounted for by 'an invincible need of illusion innate' in the race. One poet, so far removed in religious thought from Renan as Dugald Buchanan, gives a definition of the drunkard's heaven in striking accord with that of the Breton critic, when he declares that it consists in the joy of

'The dizziness of drink in the brain.'

It is not the sordid appetites, or gross sensuality, that are being satisfied, but the cravings for the illusion of an unreal world.

At a time when every clachan had its poet, and every poet was a reflector of the hard conditions of his age, it is not surprising that a sad solemnity should pervade the mass of poetry under review. Yet there are bursts of brilliant raillery to be met with here and there. Life and manners are seldom attacked in the unkind spirit of cold cynicism, though frequently with irony and sarcasm.[1] Vice, folly, and hypocrisy met with trenchant and railing exposure. The harshness of even the vindictive pieces is smoothed by a mocking use of wit and humour. John Mac Codrum (1710-1796) holds a high place as a humorous satirist. His song on the Widows and on Donald Ban's Bagpipes, are perhaps the best of their class. But the greatest of the satirists is undoubtedly Rob Donn (1714-1778). Though not lacking in the power of clear and accurate description of nature and human life, he showed the best aptitude in searching analysis of character

[1] This is how the famous Rev. Lachlan Mackenzie, minister of Lochcarron from 1781-1819, humorously bids farewell to bad lodgings :—

'Tha tinn fo'm, fo'm, fo'm,
Tha tinn fo'm eirigh
'S fagam lite thana phlucanach,
Bhios aca 'n tigh na h-eigin.'

and motives. Faults, defects, and even physical infirmities, are lashed by him with a severity, and even irreverence, that appear at times to be unnecessarily cruel, and in language that occasionally savours of vulgarity and even borders on blasphemy. Reid, the bibliographer, manifestly ignoring Dr. Mackintosh Mackay's magnificent tribute to Rob Donn's character and worth, fastens the stigma of unpopularity and immorality on the poet—a stigma that is both unjust to the poems, and to the devout and pure-minded scholar who edited them. As writers since Reid's day, following the unhappy lead, have been inclining to an estimate of the poet's character by no means flattering, it may not be out of place to record this hitherto unpublished narrative. 'The late Dr. Gustavus Aird of Creich took great pleasure in relating the following fact, to which he attached much importance, as showing how Rob Donn was regarded by some of the outstanding Christians of his day in the Reay country. Dr. Aird's father, when a young lad, was in the habit of spending some time with his maternal uncle, the Rev. George Munro, the saintly minister of Farr. When Rob had occasion to be in the parish, as was often the case, he seldom or never passed without calling at the manse, where he was always pressed to stay for the night or longer. At family worship he was invariably asked to take part, and he and his host alternately engaged in prayer. This information Dr. Aird got from the lips of his father, who had frequent opportunities of meeting the famous bard. The inference is plain. Rob must not only have conducted himself with propriety, but was also looked upon as a pious man, at any rate in his latter days, otherwise the godly Mr. Munro would never have asked him to lead the devotions at the family altar.'[1] Rob Donn's satire on the two miserly brothers, who lived together, died together, and were buried together, would by itself

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. Donald Munro, Free Church minister, Ferintosh, for this interesting narrative.

immortalise his name. For where in any language is the span of worthless human lives so contemptuously and effectively compressed as in this neatly drawn cipher ?—

'At least, as far as others knew,
They never went the pace,
But neither did they anything
That folk would reckon grace;
Begotten, born and bred, they grew
Together side by side,
A stretch of time passed over them,
And in the end they died.'

FULACHT NA MORRIGNA

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

[THIS very interesting piece of lore is found on folio 10*b* of MS. v., one of the oldest in the Scottish Collection. The text is fairly clear, only a letter or two being illegible. The subject-matter is little known. *Fulacht* is in the glossaries usually rendered 'cooking,' 'cooking-hearth,' but in several passages, as also in some cases here, the word must import the 'gear' or 'apparatus' for cooking. A short paragraph with similar heading but different text is found in the Yellow Book of Lecan, p. 419*a*. There are also a few sentences on the same subject in the British Museum MS., Egerton, 1782. The *indeoin*, or 'anvil' of the Dagda, is described in MS. H. 3.18., p. 433 (Trinity College, Dublin), and this text is printed with comment in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XVIII. Part ii. p. 213.

Our text is more detailed and, if one can say so, more historical, than any of those mentioned. The diction is in some cases obscure to me, and the translation of several words is in consequence uncertain. The *Morrigan*, I need hardly say, is the wife of the Dagda, the famous king of the *Tuatha De Danann*.—D. M'K.]

FULACHT na Morrigna, and so .i. crand a roth 7 crand a mol edtir teine 7 uisci 7 iarand a corp 7 da nai rethlen as an moil sin. Foluath athlam ic impo h-e. Tricha bir dobid ass 7 tricha drol 7 tricha fertas. Seol foai 7 fo h-ingnadh a cruth re luth a drol 7 a retlen. Fulucht na Morrigna do

gres. . . ger úr goband do. Indeoin an Dagdai (MS. *da gai*) dogres. Grinde mac luchair do [rinde ?] .i. tri noai (m-bera] 7 tri noai tuill indtib. Aoen bir ro fuilnged re fuin 7 focer Eochaig Ollathar de. Aen sgiath ro cuired ar luth e 7 aen fer ro h-inledh. Bir Deichen, imorro, o Goibnend fouair Deichen an bir sin; an glinn Treichen fouair Deichen an bir sin. Ar seilb loga, imorro, rotaisged in bir sin attireib Nuagatt. Aen fer deg, imorro, do clanduib Eithlend ised ronidh an fulacht sin .i. Lugaid, Aengus anbroga, Cermat, Midir, Mac Sgail, Cu, Cian, Cethen, Uar, Iuchraidh, Iucharua. Re lind Eremoin, imorro, ix.nur do clanduib Miled donid an fulachta .i. Lubair, Tubar, Tenfa, Confa, Caither, Enna mor, Enna becc, Gola mend, Cesron. Re lind Ugaini viii.ur fo tualaing bir D(eichen) doimcoimet .i. Aidid, Lugaid, Crom, Arc, Illann, tri meic Glais a glind in Sgail. 7 re lind Eachach F(eidlig ?) fo tualaing b(ir) D(eichen) d(o) c(oimet) .i. Eogan, Eochaidh, Cobtach, Lugaid, Fiacha, Merorand, Daire. Cuiger laech 7 aen ben re lind Conchubuir donid an fulachta .i. Naisi, Cethernd, Conchubar, Cúculaind, Mesdega, Felim nócrothach. Cethrur isin Fein oca innill .i. Find feisin, Oissin, Diarmait, Cailte. x. slesa 7 x. faebuir ar in m-bir sin o aimsir Logach co h-aimsir Eathach F(éidlig ?). O aimsir Eathach co Concubar 8 slesa 7 8 faebuir fair. 6 slesa 7 6 faebair fair iarsin co Find. 4 rinda 7 4 faebuir oc Find fair. Finit.

'The *Fulacht* of the great Queen here. Its wheel was of wood; and of wood its shaft (axle ?) between fire and water; its frame was of iron. Twice nine pulleys (?) were in that shaft. Smoothly and swiftly it revolved. Thirty spits projected from it, thirty hooks, and thirty spindles. It had a sail, and wonderful it looked when its hooks and pulleys were in motion. The *Fulacht* of the great Queen had always a fresh . . . of a smith. The anvil of the Dagda thus: Grinde son of Luchar (made it). Thrice nine spits it had, and thrice nine holes in them. One spit it carried when roasting, and E. O. perished by it. One wing set it in motion, and one man put it in gear. As to the spit of

Deichen now, D. had that spit from Goibniu, and it was in the glen of Treichiu that D. found it. The spit was, moreover, lodged, because of its value, in the lands of Nuadu. Now there were eleven men of the race of Eithliu who did that cooking(?), viz., L., Angus of the (fairy) mansion, C., M., Mac S., C., C., C., U., I., and I. In the time of Heremon, nine men of the Milesians did the work,—L., T., T., C., C., big E., little E., G. the stutterer, and C. During the time of U. eight men had the charge of tending the spit of D., A., L., C., A., I., and the three sons of Glas from the glen of S. In the time of E. F. seven men looked after D.'s spit,—E., E., C., L., F., M., and D. Five heroes and one lady performed the work in C.'s time,—N., C., C., C., M., and Felim the ever-blooming. Four of the *Fiana* attended to it,—F. himself, O., D., and C. That spit had ten sides (faces ?) and ten edges (angles ?) from the time of L. to the time of E. F. ; eight faces and eight angles from the time of E. to that of C. Thereafter, until Find's day, it had six faces and six angles. Find had four points (faces ?) and four angles upon it. It ends.'

BOOK REVIEWS

An Etymological Dictionary of the ~~English~~ Gaelic Language. By ALEXANDER MACBAIN, LL.D. Stirling: Æneas Mackay, 1911. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The new edition of Dr. MacBain's great work, we are informed in an editorial note, consists of the text of the original edition with interposed additions, amendments, and corrections drawn from the author's 'Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies,' extending to about twenty pages, printed in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, from the three pages or so of Addenda et Corrigenda at the end of the first edition, and from written jottings on interleaved copies of these books. The Rev. Dr. George Henderson, Lecturer in Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Glasgow, it is further said, found it necessary to abandon his intention of seeing the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary through the press, after reaching the sixteenth page of the 'Outlines.' No one having been found to fill Dr. Henderson's place, the editing has been left in the hands of Mr. Malcolm Macfarlane, who was associated with Dr. Henderson to begin with to relieve him of the clerical drudgery. In *format* the work has been

well designed, copying, and if anything improving, upon the excellent model of the first edition. The care that was bestowed upon the designing of the work has been relaxed in the execution of the design, and easily avoidable blemishes have been allowed to appear in the letterpress. On the first sixteen pages of the 'Outlines' prefixed to the Dictionary there is a series of twenty-five references to a 'Supplement to the Outlines' that was in course of preparation by Dr. Henderson, but the Supplement is wanting. The Supplement has been completed so far as those references go, and has even been printed. It extends to less than three pages, with a note of Corrigenda at the back, and it might very well have been included. Otherwise the first sixteen pages ought to have been reprinted without the references. Letters have been allowed to drop out of Middle Irish in the table of Abbreviations, from kridion in the third, and from ballons in the eleventh lines from the foot of p. xxxiii, from ceaba, p. 75, and from dijudicare and separate in the last line of p. 311. In the pagination the numbers 48, 165, 215, 224, 344, 358, 376, have each lost one, two, or three figures, and 167 appears in place of 176. In more than a dozen instances between dìobair and dìthreabh an ì belonging to a different fount has been used, and in the less than a line and a half devoted to bòc a *q* turned upside down has been used five times, and once also under the following word in place of a *b*.

The whole of the matter that has been dealt with in the preparation of this edition was contained in an interleaved copy of the former edition of the Dictionary plus an interleaved copy of 'Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies,' and was therefore, in a way, within easily manageable compass and by no means formidable in amount. The work of editing the matter contained within those limits, however, if done in a competent manner, would be of a very exacting kind. Besides the usual correction of the press it would consist, of course, in the main of the insertion into their proper places of the additions and the corrections, and the omission or indication of matter that was cancelled or superseded by the corrections. It would be highly desirable also that etymologies and corrections advanced or accepted elsewhere by MacBain of words coming within the scope of the Dictionary should be gleaned from the publications in which they appear, and should be given the place to which they are entitled in this edition. Forming part also of the editorial work to be done, and calling for some remark here, are the decipherment of the autograph jottings and the correction of any misprints or errors discoverable in the original texts.

It may be said at once that great care appears to have been bestowed upon the Gaelic text, and most of the former misprints have been corrected. Several, however, of the old errors have been reproduced and others have been added. Feobhas, notwithstanding that feobharan had to be interposed, is still misplaced, as is also now this additional word, after feòcullan, and òran comes two places before its alphabetical order. Creatrach, a

spelling perpetuated from Lhuyd, should be creathrach, as Lhuyd's reference to criathrach, a wilderness, shows. The word is to be compared with crathrach, a plashy bog (Shaw), cràthrach, a boggy place or marsh (Armstrong, etc.), and is properly creàthrach, a dialectic pronunciation of crèathrach or criathrach, a clayey place, from crè, clay. Smiodan ought to be, or at all events is better known as, smiodam, and sgairm under sgairneach should be sgairn. New misprints are breac under bricein, iubrach under iubhar, sibhleadh under féile, kilt, and sìoblach under sìobail for breac, iubhrach, eibhleadh and sìobladh respectively. The accent mark has been omitted from bì, bìgh, creònadh and neònagan, and has been placed on sgionabhagan in opposition in the last three cases to the correct forms in 'Further Words.' In the case of tè, tèa, insipid, etc., the second form ought to be teà, or perhaps better still teàth. These errors are not more in number than might escape the most vigilant editing in a book of such dimensions. Less care is evinced in the English letterpress. Post instead of port under ceannard easily escapes notice, but joke for an English cognate of cuing, a yoke, might have been expected to arrest the attention of any editor, and to suggest the obvious correction yoke, while the Eng. skinn under boicionn, a goat skin, is fitted to suggest that its reproduction arises not from carelessness but from fear of the unknown. New misprints in this department are more numerous: show for shows, fourteen lines from the foot of p. xiv, Heuce for Hence under bòsdan, creeking for creaking under brag, crum for crumb under broineag, pitch for pith under cloidhean, appearace for appearance under fiamh, for in place of from under forc, villian under gàrlach, burdoch for burdock under seircean, whild under sìth (fairy), Mac-allan under Allan, Holden repeatedly (p. 2, etc.) for Holder, Leiden (p. 42) for Lidén, 1134 for 134 under astar, and such omissions as 'Lat.' from 'Lh's Lat. Celt.' under bealaidh, and 'of' after 'form' under màn. The correction required in 'cugar, mab or wild cat,' presumably is not 'mad' for 'mab,' but 'male of' for 'mab or,' though the term is also applied to the domestic tom-cat.

In other languages, of which some thirty, not counting dialects, are laid under contribution, new mistakes are committed and the correction of old mistakes has been pretermitted. In Irish words the accent is omitted from máinigh under bàinidh, ag dréim under dreimire, and fhéle under féile, while M. Ir. mèin under mèin, and seomuirlìn under seamarlan have the grave accent in place of the acute, and luighéan and luítheach both under lugh, a joint, should be luigheán and lúitheach. Under ealach, alchningi repeats a misprint of alchuingi. The Irish buafanan under buadhghallan and cábhluighe under cabhladh and the Norse fyrir under stamhnaich and Ragnhildr under Raonaild, for example, show new misprints and such old misprints as those of Manx pleaysc under plaosg, Welsh blwydh under bliadhna, neidr under buadhghallan, ymenydd under eanchainn, ias under fallus, ffrewyll under sroghall, Breton gelaouen under geal, a leech, Old French croupion under gurpan, Norse Hrôrekr under Ruairidh are repeated, as is

also 'key' in place of 'lock' as the rendering of the Welsh word under clò, a nail. To these add debntus for debitus under dù, proehendo for praehendo under eidheann, hé-res for hēres under gàbhadh, sternno for sternuo under srann, φυλλα for φύλλον under bail, βρέχω for βρέχω under braon, κόρνξα for κόρυξα under carrasan, αλοφυρμοαι for ὀλοφύρομαι under leanabh, and the word that appears as δαρεῖρ under dearna and as δάρειρ under dorn and is given as δάρεῖρ in Stokes's *Urk. Spr.*, p. 148, not to mention the many in which Greek accents and aspirates are wrong or misplaced or wanting. At the end of àiridh, agio should be agia both times. Under alp, imper is a mistake for some form of Sc. imp, a graft; ymp, Middle English impen, to graft. Ir. J. under amhas should be Ir. J. vii. Under aoibh the comma after pleasant should be deleted. We have Wh. St. (Whitley Stokes) under bail-ceach in place of Ch. Sl. (Church Slavonic), Gl. for Cf. under bàth, fen for fem. under bearn, *fulgeo under boillsg where root of fulgeo is meant, Persson for Pedersen presumably under cadal, Ger. omitted before rotz under carrasan, *gṛsiko- for qṛsiko- under curcais, dvei-penge for dvei-penqe under deug, erroneous asterisks before domail under domhail and ταραχή under dragh, an accent mark on *védes-men- under feum notwithstanding the Corrigenda of the first edition, and the circumflex wanting from vodîlo- under fuidheall, ad-com-bangim and bang under theagamh for ad-com-bongim and bong, queries in place of compares under ubhal, etc. Even in the quotations from the Gaelic authorities mistakes and oversights remain uncorrected. For example, Armstrong and not Shaw is the authority for biolar, dainty, spruce, and though Armstrong, as is said, does not have sgiot, scatter, he has sgiut, a Perthshire form of the same word. MacAlpine may imply that faire means hole in Islay, but what he says is that it means a link, or land sometimes covered by the sea in Bute Is., and though he writes modhar, as he writes mod, moine, mor, etc., he pronounces mòdhar and quotes 'An gleann mòdhar nan sruthan lubach,' 'in the still vale of the meandering streamlets,' and so affords no support to the derivation from modh, which would make mòdhar to have for its primary meaning mannerly and to be therefore very inapplicable to a glen. The word whose meaning MacAlpine gives as an 'enchantment to make one's friends prosper' is not sèamh, as affirmed under that word, but seamh with a short vowel.

What has been said points to the conclusion that the editor has not gone outside of the boards of the interleaved copies of the books dealt with, and such knowledge as he possesses of Gaelic and of English in order to secure correctness, but more remains to be said to the same effect. A derivation of bearach, dog-fish, quoted from Meyer, is reproduced from 'Further Words' but with the omission in the Dictionary of the name of Meyer. There are similar omissions for no apparent reason in other instances, but in this instance the dropping out of some letters at the place in the off-prints of 'Further Words' presents a plausible reason for the omission; but if that be the reason, the very simple and obvious expedient

of consulting the easily accessible *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* would have met the difficulty. There are other instances that are involved in no uncertainty of the neglect of the simplest and easiest expedients and they are connected with the reading of Dr. MacBain's handwriting. Over the leaf from bearach, it may be remarked in passing, we come upon beisear, plate-rack on dresser. This Gaelic word was given orally to Dr. MacBain as beiseal. It is written beiseil by Armstrong under shelf in his English-Gaelic part. Two supplementary lists of words, one from the Sutherland dialect per Rev. Adam Gunn, and one from the Perthshire dialect per the present writer, are given at pp. 391 and 392 of this edition. In those two pages are more misprints and errors than we can even point out, not to say correct, here. Some of the number may have existed in MacBain's autograph lists, others are without any doubt misreadings of the manuscript by the editor. In either case, the editor could easily in this instance verify or correct the lists or his own reading of them. Take for example 'dràichd, stallion (Arms.), drudge,' in the second list. How could the same word have two such unlike meanings? Why not turn up Armstrong and discover that what MacBain had written was not 'stallion' but 'slattern'? But the originals of those lists were printed elsewhere, the one in the *Celtic Monthly* and the other in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, and if those publications were not in the editor's possession they could easily be consulted in Glasgow. By neglecting that easy expedient, the editor has simply dotted those two pages with errors that shake the confidence of his readers in the accuracy of his reading of his copy. The errors cannot be accounted for by unwillingness to alter the copy. The opposite of such unwillingness has been evinced, as we shall see, under 'tubaist.'

If we inquire how the interposition of the additions, amendments and corrections has been accomplished, we find matter misplaced, matter that ought to have been included omitted, and matter that has been cancelled still retained. The additions under gaorr ought to have been placed before and not after 'Hence gaorran . . . glutton.' On sithionn, venison, 'Further Words' says, 'Add M. Ir. sideng, deer'; and this has been done in such a way as to make it appear that all the other Irish forms cited have the same meaning as sideng, instead of the same as sithionn. 'Cf. Ir. *buannacht*, soldiers [*sic*] billeting from a tenant (Joyce)' has been placed under buannachd instead of under †buanna, and an entry scali from the Book of Deer relating to sgàlan, hut, has been placed under sgàlain, scales. The addition, 'Arran G. tiompaiste, Ir. tubaiste' to tubaist, evinces other editorial defects than the inattention and incomprehension so often in evidence. In 'Further Words' the entry reads, 'Ir. tubaiste, Aran tiompaiste,' meaning as plainly as could be that the latter word is from the dialect of the Irish Aran Island of which so much has been written; but the editor, transposing and altering the entry arbitrarily, has substituted the Scottish Arran Island. Of the retention of cancelled matter there are two

bad instances on a single page. Under taom, the rendering 'let go,' given of the root *sem* in the first edition, is reproduced despite the fact that the further etymology now advanced gives the root a different meaning and despite the additional fact that the rendering, naturally, does not appear in 'Further Words.' Under tànaiste for 'root *at* [go Skr. *at*, also *at-s-men*, of *àm*, time, *q.v.* (Strachan)],' 'Further Words' substitutes 'root *at* of *ath*-re'; but the matter within the square brackets, rendered irrelevant by the changed view of the root and omitted in 'Further Words,' is all excepting the first word reproduced in this edition, there being somehow a failure to perceive that with the meaning 'go' all that relates to that meaning is cancelled.

More serious every way as well as more numerous are the omissions of matter that ought to have been included. The omission of the note, 'Stokes suggests from kurvo—allied to Lat. curvus; but this would give corbhan,' on corran, sickle, in 'Further Words' is scarcely warranted, all things considered, by the rejection of the proposed derivation. In contrast with the reproduction we have noticed of cancelled matter under tànaiste is the omission of '**veiko-s*; Ger. *Weihe*, kite, O. H. G. *wiho*; root *vei*, hunt,' following O. Ir. fiach under fitheach, raven, where the superseded analysis might have been retained if only to explain the concluding sentence, 'It is still distantly allied to Ger. *Weihe*.' Under mèin, meinn, disposition, the first edition with its, 'A root *mein*, mind, mean, appears to exist in Eng. *mean*, Ger. *meinen*' is followed and the definite assertion in 'Eng. *mean*, Ger. *meinen* (Stokes)' of 'Further Words' of a connection between the Gaelic and the English and German words has been wholly missed. Under murrach, able, in '[Ir.] murtha, successful [(O'B.) murthadh, much wealth (O'R.); cf. mùr] the words within the square brackets have all been omitted. Upon oil, vexation, offence, 'Further Words' has, 'Ir. *is oth liom*, I regret; really *oth* before prep. pronouns with *le*: *oth* a short form of *uath*' but not one word of this appears in the new edition. In fitting into the article on Kennedy at p. 402 the corrections and additions from 'Further Words,' the last sentence of the original edition has been dropped, with the result that the words within the square brackets are wanting from this sentence and 'G.' appears in place of 'Ir.'—'[The Highland Kennedys are] also called [in G. M'Uaraig or] M'Ualraig from Walrick Kennedy (16th century), who first settled in Lochaber: Walrick may be Ir. Ualgharg [proud—fierce],' etc. 'Amarlaich, blustering (M'A.)' of the first edition was corrected 'Amarlaid, blustering female; not *amarlaich*' in 'Further Words'; in the new edition the erroneous entry is retained and the correction follows as an independent entry. The reference under bàinidh, madness, to bà is rendered meaningless by the new derivation from Lat. *mania*. In the sentence under draoi 'Thurneysen analyses the word as [*dru-vid-*, roots] *dru*, high, strong [and *vid*] (see truaill [and fios]),' the words within square brackets ought to have been retained, while 'also' in the sentence that follows should have been omitted. The new matter 'O. Ir. *trebus*, breeches, L. Lat. *tubrucus* (Isidore), tribuces

(Du Cange), "thigh breeches" (D'Arbois)' under triubhas makes nonsense of the derivation from Sc. *trews* reproduced from the first edition.

When words dealt with in the Dictionary, either in the text or in the 'Addenda et Corrigenda' at the end, were reconsidered in 'Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies,' only so much of the entry in the former as was needful for identification was in certain cases repeated in the latter. In a new edition it is obviously the full statement that a careful editor would reproduce. Here we have too many instances of the contrary. Under aoine, fast, for example, following 'Further Words,' 'I' before 'hunger' and 'Lat. penuria' after it, have been omitted. Under ars, arsa, quoth, where we should read, 'the root ver verdh [speak, seen in Gr. *ἐρέω*, speak], Eng. [rhetoric] word,' the words within the square brackets are wanting. Under balla, 'Latterly from Lat. vallum' have not been reproduced, nor under barpa, 'where the Gadelic love of *c* above *p* again appears' in reference to An Carbh, the Lewis form of Am Parph (better Am Parbh), the Gaelic of Cape Wrath, nor under òran 'Stokes compares W. *afar*, mourning.' One or two minor omissions are 'from réir' after O. Ir. aréir under raoir, 'dog-wasp' after connspeach under speach and 'Northern G.' before M'Bheathaig under MacBeth. Piocach a saith, etc., also is followed here by '(Wh.)': only in place of the '(Arg., M'A.) cf. Eng. pike.' of 'Further Words.' The largest single omission has not yet been noticed, and relates to ceannard, commander, chief, explained in the first edition by comparison with Irish *ceannárd*, arrogant, commanding; 'high headed,' from *ceann* and *àrd*. The 'Corrigenda et Addenda' have 'ceannard: Manx kiannoort. The Manx and Sc. are discussed by Rhys (*Manx Pray.*, ², 94). His *ceannabhard* is unknown to the present writer; but his derivation of it from Eng. *ward* could be supported from M'Vurich's *bárd*, garrison, if we were sure it was not M'V.'s classic style, for the word is good Irish'; but not a word of this has been reproduced, while the incorrect Manx kinnoort of 'Further Words' has been repeated. The form ceannabhard, or rather, ceannabhart, is common for ceannard in the island of Jura, and no doubt further afield.

Several of the words on which the author's latest views are not incorporated were thought by him to be possibly of Pictish origin, and are perhaps of special interest on that account, and may, with some others, be more fully noticed.

Abhag, terrier, Ir. abach, is taken as before from abh, bark of dog, an onomato-poetic word, but with the addition 'Cf. E. Ir. abacc, dwarf; W. afanc.' MacBain does not translate the Welsh word, and one recalls the lively soliloquy in Borrow's *Wild Wales* as to whether the word properly means crocodile or beaver. 'O who can doubt,' thought I, 'that the word was originally intended for something monstrous and horrible? Is there not something horrible in the look and sound of the word afanc, something connected with the opening and shutting of immense jaws, and the swallowing of writhing prey?' Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom* writes the Welsh word as *avanc* and defines it as 'the name by which

certain water inhabitants of a mythic nature went in Welsh, such as the *avanc* of the lake killed by Peredur, and that other dragged out of the Conwy by Hu the Mighty and his two oxen,' and adds in reference to the oldest known version of the latter story that 'in some respects the *avanc* in it behaved like a Scotch kelpie.' Henry gives the Breton avank, at all events, the meaning of beaver, and connecting it with the Irish abac, derives it from the same root as Breton aven, Gaelic abhainn, river.

The various forms of the word bealaidh, broom, in the Celtic speeches are perplexing. In the article on the word in this edition there are two errors in addition to one noticed above. The old French balain is given twice and the dot over the *y* of Lhuyd's Irish beallyi, owing doubtless to its being badly rendered in the former edition, is now made a distinct accent mark. MacBain says it is possible that bealaidh is borrowed from the Pictish, and adds, 'The word does not appear in the Irish Dictionaries, save in Lh.'s Lat. Celt. part, which perhaps proves nothing.' The word appears in O'Neill Lane's English-Irish Dictionary, published in 1904, as beallghaoi, along with two other terms for broom, the three being grouped together also by Lhuyd. By beallyi with a dot over the *y* Lhuyd means beallaoi, a form that represents apparently an unusual pronunciation, and that, wherever found, is therefore presumably genuine. The pronunciation varies, however, in Scottish Gaelic in different districts, mealaidh, mealaich, bealach, bealthaidh, and bealthach being all met with. In Shaw's Dictionary 'beali' and 'a mheali' are both given in the Gaelic-English and the English-Gaelic parts. MacAlpine says under bealaidh, 'See Mealaich; bad mealaich, a tuft of broom,' from which he would appear to think mealaich the more correct form. Mealaich may be simply mealaidh, a form met with in Skye, with the sound of slender *ch* given, as so often happens in the West, to final slender *dh*. An *m* in place of a *b* is found in other instances, as binid and minid, rennet, and may well be due to the article in the case of a noun of the masculine gender, as am bealaidh, the broom. The word occurs as a feminine, however, in East Perthshire, as bealaidh Fhrangach, laburnum, and is so in the *Gaelic Names of Plants*, by John Cameron, whose native district of Fortingal is in West Perthshire. Shaw's a' mheali also, already noticed, is feminine. Bealach occurs as an Argyll form in E. MacDonald's *Faclair Gaìdhlig*. It is met with in Mid-Argyll. Its explanation, and this applies of course to bealthach also, we take to be that bealaidh or bealaich with *ch* for *dh* as in mealaidh and mealaich above, was mistaken for a genitive, and that bealach obtained currency as the supposed nominative from which such a genitive would have come. In many districts there is a tendency to disregard the inflections of nouns, but in Argyllshire there seems reason to believe that a tendency to err in the opposite direction has been in operation, inflexions and case forms being supplied erroneously, where, under the influence of grammar and analogy, they were supposed to be wanting. Bealthaidh is heard in Islay and Jura. Here *l* has the lengthened sound associated with this liquid when followed an by aspirated or vocalised consonant. If the respective initial letters be

left out of account bealthach sounds like dealbhach or sealbhach when the sound of *v* is not given to *bh*. It is impossible to decide from pronunciation whether the consonant ought to be written *bh*, *dh*, *gh* or *th* as it is vocalised. The only explanation that presents itself of this sound after the *l* is that this is an instance, though of a somewhat different kind, of the tendency which gives to dail, a dale, and sail, a beam, for example, such plurals respectively as dailthean and sailthean, and to mala, eyebrow, a plural mailghean alongside of malaichean and malaidhean, as well as an adjective mailgheach, beetle-browed, etc. Bealthach has been taken, but with a correction of spelling, from a list of Gaelic plant names from the island of Colonsay, in which it figures as beala'ach. The list gives 'Bealaidh, broom,' and then together, 'Conasg, beala'ach, whin, furze.' The meaning of this we take to be that bealaidh is known from literature and that beala'ach is the native insular pronunciation of the name, but that the plant being extremely rare or even non-existent in the island for some time beala'ach, both name and plant, has been popularly confused with the common gorse or whin.

All this uncertainty as to the form of the word, found as it is more especially in Argyllshire, goes to confirm MacBain's conjecture that bealaidh is not a native Gaelic word and that it was borrowed by the Gaels on their settlement in Scotland from the Brythonic speech of their Pictish predecessors in the land. MacBain starts consideration of the Brythonic forms by comparing Breton balan, Middle Breton balazn, which has been borrowed by French as balai, Old French balain, a broom or besom. But the Welsh is banadl and the early Cornish is banathel, which have been connected by Ernault with the root of Lat. genista, broom (ban-=gen-). MacBain says the Breton balan may be a metathesis, and Breton has banal as well as balan. Henry, according to whom consonantal metathesis is found with great frequence in Breton as compared with Welsh and Cornish, explains balan as having come through its old form balazn by metathesis from an old form banazl of banal. Gaelic bealaidh, Middle Breton balazn, Old French balain when opposed to Welsh banadl and Early Cornish banathel may well leave us in doubt which of the Breton forms, banal or balan, it is that shows the metathesis. Henry does not mention the Gaelic bealaidh except to point out in a footnote with the mistranslation 'balai' (a broom) in place of 'genêt' (broom) that it cannot be the French balai. We have seen the unusual variations of the word in Gaelic but there are unusual variations of the Welsh and Breton forms also. Besides banadl, Welsh has banad and banal and to the Breton forms balan and banal Ernault's Dictionary of the Vannetais Dialect adds benal, bonal, and belann. All the variations we find in the case of anail, breath, for example, are Welsh anadl, anal, and Breton alan and hanal or hénal. If it is possible that Gaelic has borrowed the word for broom from Pictish, do not the variations of the word in the Brythonic languages suggest that Pictish and Welsh and Breton themselves may have borrowed the word perhaps from some pre-Celtic tongue?

Before the first edition was long published the view left unmodified here that 'dail,' a dale, meadow, is a loan from Norse 'dalr,' was abandoned, and the view, of which the latest enunciation was as follows, was adopted: 'The word "dul" or "dail" is exceedingly common as a prefix [in place-names]; as a suffix it shows the genitive "dalach," both in ordinary speech and places called Ballindalloch. The word does not appear in Irish, ancient or modern; but it is clearly allied to the similarly used word of similar meaning, W. "dôl," pl. "dolydd", Corn. and Bret. "dol." Many place-names in Wales and Cornwall bear this prefix. The Perthshire parish name, Dull, G. Dul, bears it in its naked simplicity, and the form "dul" is the usual one along the Great Glen, especially in Glen-Urquhart and Glen-Moriston. The modern spelling, however, is almost always "Dal-" in these last cases. The Wardlaw MS. (seventeenth century) always writes "Dul-" however. The root seems to be "dul," and therefore not allied to Eng. "dale" or Norse "dalr"; but it is likely allied to the root "dul," bloom, as in Gaelic "duilleag."' That gives only a partial indication of the amount of evidence furnished by place-names as to both form and usage of 'dail' and showing the inadequacy of the derivation from the Norse 'dalr.'

Geal, a leech, is referred to as in the former edition without any change to the root gel, devour. Henry, in discussing the Breton equivalent gelaouen, compares Sanscrit jala, water, and German quell-en, to gush, and goes no further than to say that the word is obscure and is sometimes referred to a root gel, devour, suck. Kluge has referred the German quellen, with its derivative quelle, spring, source, to a root gel (gol) related to Sanscrit jala, water; gal, to curl. Discussing the term geall- met with in the name Pityoulish and in Geallaidh, a common stream name, as in Abergeldie, Innergeldie, etc., MacBain says, 'The root is "geld," as in Norse "kelda," a well; Ger. "quelle," already mentioned in connection with St. Kilda. A shorter form of the root is found in G. "geal," a leech, root "gel," water. Compare Welsh Abergele.'

Peasg, gash in skin, chapped gashes of hands, cranny, is compared with Welsh pisg, blisters, and said to be possibly of Pictish origin. No etymology is offered, but the author orally suggested *ques-c-, the root of Lat. quaero, quaesivi.

The derivations of peighinn, a penny, and of feòirlig or feòirling, a farthing, from Anglo-Saxon, though given up in favour of derivations from Norse, are still retained. A hint of the change is now given, however, under bìrlinn, a galley, formed from Norse byrdhingr, in the addition, 'Cf. feòirlig = fjórdhingr.' The parallel forms to feòirling, Manx farling, Irish feóirlinn, and Welsh ffyrling, or ffyrlling, seem to have been overlooked. The Welsh word certainly must be set down as formed from the Anglo-Saxon feorthling. The Gaelic words, Scottish, Irish, and Manx agree in form more nearly with Anglo-Saxon feorthling than with Norse fjórdhingr, but the comparison of bìrlinn, formed from byrdhingr with a developed *l* leaves the two derivations in equipoise. The question has to be decided by

other than phonetic considerations. Both feòirling and peighinn appear to be better known and more frequently used in the Hebrides than in the Eastern Highlands in common speech. More significant is the fact that both terms are met with in the place-names of the south of Argyll and of the Hebrides many times, and very rarely outside of those districts. In the place-names of Skye, for example, there are a dozen instances of peighinn and one of feòirling; in those of Perthshire not a single instance of either is known. Such distribution of the words makes it very clear that they are not to be ascribed to Anglo-Saxon influence or to the Anglo-Saxon speech, and that their connection is with the Norse kingdom of Man and the Isles, and their derivation from the Norse tongue.

The only additions made by MacBain to what is said here and in the former edition on 'preas, a bush, brier,' are that in place-names the word has the meaning of 'a brake,' and that the Welsh 'prys,' a brake, etc., 'is evidently allied to the W. "perth," brake, whence the names Perth, Logiepert, Larbert, Partick, etc.' The name Perrack, it may be remarked in passing, about which a correspondent has been inquiring lately, is borne by a long ridge in Dollar hill, and, resembling as it does so closely the Gaelic form of Partick, is doubtless to be connected with that group of names. 'Sprios,' a twig, or wicker,' which we meet with in Shaw's and O'Brien's (2nd ed.) Dictionaries, and with an alternative form 'spreas' in Dinneen's is evidently a variant of 'preas' with a prosthetic *s*.

Some other derivations proposed or accepted by Dr. MacBain may be briefly noticed. Daor, dear, is not borrowed from English as supposed by Whitley Stokes but is native, *i.e.* the same word as daor, enslaved, cf. saor, free, cheap. Breac-sheunain is given not once but twice, pp. 47, 309, without etymology, and once more at p. 321, followed by 'from *sian*, foxglove?' the interrogation mark taking the place here of the name given in 'Further Words' as the author of this etymology, but another suggestion was accepted by MacBain saying 'this in Argyllshire is *breacadh-seun*, literally, "freckling of blessing"; it is . . . from *seun*, *sian*, a blessing, luck, for freckles are counted lucky. The superstition supports the derivation.' Sìobhalta, civil, peaceful, Ir. síbhealta, is referred to Ir. síothamhuil, peaceful, E.-Ir. sídamail, whereas the two latter are our sìtheil, and the two former are from Eng. civil. On this being pointed out, MacBain wrote, '*Peccavi*; it is from Eng. *civil* even to being used with *lagh* in "civil law," lagh sìobhalta.' On MacAlpine's *sòise*, a ball of fire in the sky, a portent, he said with needless caution, it 'is likely from *soillse*.' On *slaman*, curdled milk, he wrote, 'There is an old Irish *loimm*, gulp, Cornish *lommen*, mess of flesh, Breton *lomm*, a drop, from the root *lap* or *lak*, to lick, Lat. *lambo*.' This is also Henry's derivation for the Breton word. On another word or words MacBain says, 'There are four words for knuckle: utan, ùtag, nùdan, rùdan. These seem all one word ultimately, possibly allied to Lat. nodus.' If the four are really one the variations in form are great for the word to be native, and the difficulties in regarding it as Icel. knúta, knuckle-bone, borrowed, are no less great.

'Rùtan, the horn of a roebuck,' seems to rest for its sole authority on a passage in Duncan Macintyre's Coire Cheathaich :—

'Tha mhaoisleach chùl-bhuidh' air feadh na dùslainn
Aig bun nam fiùran 'g an rùsgadh lom,
'S am boc gu h-ùtlaidh ri leaba chùirteil,
'S e 'ga bùrach le rùtan crom.'

In any case the word here is only another variation of rùdan. The two last lines mean that the roebuck was in the covert making his noble bed and scraping it with his bent foot.

Rùdan and ùtan are in the Dictionary, but without any reference from the one to the other. There is the same absence of cross references in the case of breac-sheunain already noticed, and in not a few other instances, *e.g.* fùrlaich and ùrlaich, ùbhla and ùmlagh.

The *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* when first published immediately carried the author into the foremost rank of Celtic scholars throughout the world. Though the present edition has not received the editing that the author wished and meant his work to receive, and though its practical utility has suffered in consequence, its intrinsic excellence and value remain as qualities too long known to need commendation.

C. M. R.

Miss Tolmie's Collection of Gaelic Music. The English Folk-Lore Journal. Annual subscription 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Folk-Song Society of London issue this book in the latest volume of their Journals. They are fortunate in having the opportunity of publishing Miss Frances Tolmie's collection, and all Celts have occasion for warm appreciation of the excellent manner in which the work has been produced. Miss Tolmie has had the advantage of the collaboration of two of the best authorities on folk-song in Britain, Miss Lucy E. Broadwood and Miss A. G. Gilchrist, while notes on literary and historical points have been contributed by Dr. George Henderson of Glasgow University. Illuminating articles and suggestions from each of these writers, as well as from Miss Tolmie's own graphic pen, appear almost under every song. All this ministry of talent has been dedicated to the musical and literary interpretation of the folk-songs of the Isles. It would appear that Highland folk-song is at last coming into its kingdom and receiving the recognition it deserves.

These songs were learned by Miss Tolmie from humble folks, dwellers in the 'lone shieling and the misty island,' and she well remarks that 'the songs make their truest effect when heard in the tremulous tones of age beside the smouldering peat fire under some lonely roof.' In the notes many romantic and touching stories associated with the songs are related that create an old-world atmosphere and prepare our minds to receive deep impressions from the words and music, and to realise the sincere, unartificial, yet poetic life of the old folks now fast passing away. Redolent of the

soil, they are naturally healthy songs expressive of deep, simple human feeling. Those attracted by the history, folk-lore, and the human interest of the songs will find a feast of good things in the notes by Miss Tolmie and Dr. Henderson. The musical reader will gain much knowledge of the latest and soundest views regarding folk-song from the pens of Miss Gilchrist and Miss Broadwood. Miss Gilchrist has classified every air under its mode, and her introductory study on the model system in Gaelic music is very valuable, and has the approval of Mr. Fuller Maitland, the editor of Grove's *Dictionary of Music*. Peculiarities of melody or rhythm are pointed out and references given to variants in other collections or to parallel instances in the music of other nations. The editors show an astonishingly intimate acquaintance with the folk music of every nation in Europe, and frequently point out similarities between a Gaelic air and popular airs in other countries, as well as in the songs or ballads of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Specimens of Russian and Danish songs are given in the book.

The Gaelic words we note with regret are not invariably given in full, but references occur to the collections in which they may be found. English translations of the whole song are given in good prose. We suppose that the exigencies of space was the reason for this economy in Gaelic. But it would have been a great convenience to Gaelic readers to have had the words in full. Some of the songs have been published before in the *Gesto Collection*, *Carmina Gadelica*, and the *Songs of the Hebrides*, but here Miss Tolmie has gathered all her gleanings together in one full sheaf. She gives in her preface the credit of the bulk of the collection to two friends, who are natives of the Hebrides. So that Miss Tolmie's collection may be looked upon as a second instalment of the wonderful song treasures of the Western Isles, some of the best of which Mrs. Kennedy Fraser gave to the world in her delightful volume a few years ago. It is remarkable to find the persistence of these songs in such large mass in the West all through the centuries, in spite of many adverse influences. It is possible that little of value has been really lost as regards the music, though there are many regrettable gaps in the words. Our modern bards should endeavour to fill in the gaps with suitable verses. A wonderfully large number of tunes are now preserved from the tooth of time. This book alone contains a hundred and five tunes—quite half the number in P. M'Donald's great book. P. M'Donald was evidently mistaken when he said in 1781, 'In less than twenty years it would be vain to attempt a collection of Highland music.' He did not give full value to the Highland ear and the Highland heart that ever clings to its past. Yet he says truly in another passage, 'that among an illiterate and sequestered people living at their ease the memory is amazingly tenacious, especially when the matter to be remembered coincides with the ruling passion.'[1]

[1] In passing, it may be remarked that some one should write a biographical sketch of the Rev. P. Macdonald. He lies in a nameless tomb at Kilmore. The Clan Donald should see to the erection of a monument before the position of his grave is forgotten.

The introduction and notes are full of fresh and valuable ideas and suggestions regarding Gaelic music, and Miss Broadwood, who has herself collected melodies in the Highlands, emphasises the interest and importance of Gaelic traditional music. 'We have in them legend, history, and lore which owe nothing to broadsides, chap books, or other printed matter. Fragmentary as the legend and history preserved in them may be, we find, therefore, that Gaelic traditional songs put us in touch with a long and romantic past, with verse and music of an older and more untouched type than is found elsewhere in British folk song.'

She attributes the origin of the 'Scottish snap' to the misunderstanding by Lowland Scottish and English musicians of the proper form and force of the strong accent and weak ending in Gaelic Words. 'It is these manufacturers of "Scottish music" who are responsible for the invention of the odious "snap," which arouses the indignation of the true Scot, if he have anything of music in him.' The practice came in in the late seventeenth century.

The songs themselves reflect great credit on the poetic instinct and musical genius of a particularly intelligent and thoughtful people. They are full of sincerity and can compare favourably for literary grace and emotional power with the songs of any peasantry in the world. The airs are of great variety and beauty both in rhythm and melody. Yet they are generally short and simple in their construction.

Miss Gilchrist says that almost all the tunes in this collection are in gapped scales, and she affirms that 'There is not a single tune in the whole collection corresponding with either our modern major or minor scale.' She rightly concludes that the highly artificial scale of the Scottish bagpipe has exercised little influence on Gaelic folk-song. 'A pentatonic basis has been claimed for the bagpipe scale, but this seems very doubtful. It appears more probable that this curious scale belongs to an ancient seven note system of Eastern origin.'

Miss Broadwood possesses a melodious bamboo pipe made by a Sicilian peasant which has a gapped scale precisely similar to a certain Gaelic pentatonic mode. She hazards the suggestion that the scale of the Hebridean folk may have been handed down from a primitive Mediterranean-Iberian people, who in the opinion of some ethnologists formed the aboriginal population in the Western Isles.

Miss Gilchrist has had a rather difficult task in classifying all the songs into the various modes, and sometimes one is inclined to doubt her results. But she is probably quite right in sometimes counting the last unaccented note as negligible, and rather basing her conclusions as to tonality on the last accented note and the general character of the melody. She points out acutely that the final syllable unaccented of the words is often ignored in rhyme. The rhyme cadence falls on the accented syllable, and it has an important connection with the musical cadence.

The volume is specially rich in cradle songs and songs of labour. There

are forty songs suitable for crooning to children, many of them truly delightful. There is a fine collection of waulking songs thirty-two in all. They are classified into four distinct types. The reaping and rowing songs, also used as waulking songs, are, some of them, fresh and interesting. It will be seen thus that the bulk of the collection are cradle songs and songs of labour. The book closes with fourteen songs of love, clan songs, nine laments, and six ancient heroic lays.

The book as a whole is one of the most important and instructive collections of Gaelic Folk-song hitherto published. It is without doubt the most ably edited volume of Gaelic music we have in print. Its production has evidently been an enthusiastic labour of love to all concerned. The talented and gracious lady to whom the chief credit is due will have the satisfaction of knowing that now, contrary to what her fears suggested, these songs will receive a new lease of life, and instead of being 'never more sung in this world,' will surely become again popular even over a far wider area than the isles of their origin.

Perhaps it should be noted that the songs are given in staff notation only, without piano accompaniment. They may be had from the secretary of the Folk-song Society, Mr. F. Keel, 19 Berners Street, London, by payment of 10s. 6d.—one year's subscription to the Society. The volume under review forms the sixteenth part of the Society's Journal.

M. N. M.

Songs of the Irish Harpers. Collected and arranged for Harp and Piano. By C. Milligan Fox. Bayley and Ferguson, Glasgow. 4*s. net.*

In the preface the editor states that the melodies here given were preserved in their purity by the wandering minstrels of Ireland. They are fitted with accompaniments for either harp or piano in a simple but effective style. The harp at one time played a great part in Irish music. It is a pity that skilled performers on the Irish or Highland harp are now so rarely met with. Even in Wales the harp from various reasons is falling into disuse though in former days choirs of harpers were wont to play together in the halls of the chieftains and even on the battlefield. Among modern instruments there is no accompaniment for the voice so sweetly sympathetic as the harp. It is to be hoped that this interesting volume will materially help in reviving the art of harp playing. The harp is no doubt a difficult instrument, and costly. Tuning the strings is troublesome and it is said that practice is painful to the fingers, especially in the case of beginners.

Five fine melodies from Bunting's unpublished manuscripts are here given, along with eight other songs. The Gaelic words are printed when obtainable. The English verses by Miss Alice Milligan, Miss Bunten, and others are of high quality. Some verses are original and others free translations, breathing the simplicity and sincerity of Gaelic folk-song.

The harp songs given are supposed to have the characteristics of the genuine ancient style, previous to Carolan, who was looked upon in his time as a modernist and corrupter of the ancient music. One piece is given which is assigned to Rory Dall O'Cahan, a great harper and composer, who spent most of his life in Scotland between 1601 and 1650. It is interesting to find a version of 'Ceann dubh dileas' in this book very similar to the air 'Cuir a chinn dileas' in Fraser of Knockie's Collection of Highland music By changing the key signature from C natural to 3 flats (E♭) the tune would be practically identical. Is the Irish Major or the Scottish Minor from the original? It is a rare thing in Gaelic poetry to find a song to a red-haired girl. Here is a good English one on that unfairly neglected theme, by Miss Bunten. We cordially commend the volume to all nterested in the beautiful tender songs of Ireland. M. N. M.

Monumenta Historica Celtica, Notices of the Celts in the Writings of the Greek and Latin Authors from the tenth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., arranged chronologically, with translations, commentary, indices, and a glossary of the Celtic names and words occurring in these Authors. W. DINAN, M.A. Vol. i. London: David Nutt. 1911. 15*s. net.*

This work when completed will extend to three volumes. The plan is good, and the *format* is all that could be wished. The faults of execution, however, are such as seriously to diminish its anticipated usefulness as a means 'to safeguard the student against the egregious errors which disfigure too many of the works of our Celtic scholars.' The words of the title, 'from the tenth century B.C.,' are apt to raise overhigh expectations, for Homer, the author referred to, says nothing of the Celts, the first mention of whom (if we exclude one or two bare references ascribed to Hecataeus of Miletus) occurs in Herodotus, who wrote in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The value and utility of the book depend on its accuracy in respect of text and translation, and of these it can only be said that the text is by no means as accurate as it should be, while the translation, except in the case of the first few pages and the passages from Polybius, is about as bad as it could be. The case of Polybius is explained by the fact that Mr. Dinan has, wisely, given us 'the excellent translation by Mr. E. Shuckburgh, in which Polybius expresses himself more clearly than he does in his native Greek,' which naïve appraisement is unquestionably true for Mr. Dinan, but is a libel on Polybius, who is quite as clear in his native Greek as Mr. Shuckburgh is in English. Mr. Dinan's translations speak for themselves. One or two stray curiosities may be noted first. For 'Xenophon of Lampsacenus' (p. 78), read 'Xenophon of Lampsacus.' On p. 95 for 'crossed Mount Etna,' read 'crossed Mount Oeta.' 'Athena of Itonia' (p. 98) should be 'Athene of Iton.' On p. 109 'Boeotardis' should be 'Boeotarchs,' and 'Megareus' should be 'a Megarian.' 'Enor-

mous shields' (p. 325) should be 'huge (funeral) pyres,' and 'fair hair' (*ib.*) should be 'white hair.' 'Deprecating' (p. 321) read 'depreciating.' On p. 313 'for a cask of wine they get a young slave,' should be 'for a jar of wine,' etc. On p. 310 for 'straw' read 'chaff.' For 'intrepid' (p. 99) read 'audacious.' On p. 63, for 'loses his suit,' read 'wins his suit.' 'The nights are lightsome' (*nox clara*), on p. 66, should be 'the nights are bright.' On p. 80, 'the inhabitants (of Ireland) lead . . . a primitive existence,' should be 'the people are absolutely savage.' This page contains other things even worse. 'Some are said to show a savage nature, and to boast that they would not sell a head even for its weight in gold' (p. 319), should read, 'And report goes that some of them (the Gauls) boasted that they had refused for the head its weight in gold, thus displaying a certain rude magnanimity.' 'He would give a banquet every year to all the Galati' (p. 147), read, 'He would feast all the Galatians for a whole year,' —a very different thing.

For the full appreciation of the following passages it is unfortunately necessary to give the original in each case. The italics are mine.

p. 32. τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὡς τὸν ὀϊστὸς περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν τῆν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενον. 'For the tale of Abaris, who is reported to have been a Hyperborean, I do not vouch for: how *the arrow carried him* while fasting from all food about over all the earth.'

Herodotus might well be excused from 'not vouching for' such a tale. The text as given above is untranslatable. The text of Stein (who indicates no variant readings, but brackets λέγων) is τὸν ὀϊστὸν—σιτεόμενος, giving the meaning: 'that he carried the arrow over the whole earth fasting.'

p. 34. μετὰ δὲ Τυῤῥηνούς εἰσι Κελτοὶ ἔθνος, ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς στρατείας, ἐπὶ στενῶν μέχρι Ἀδρίου διήκοντες· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀδρίου κόλπου. 'After the Tyrrhenians are settled a Celtic people who were left behind in a predatory expedition, after following as far as the head of the Adriatic.'

The meaning of the Greek is: 'Next the Tyrrheni are Celts, left behind after the expedition [which culminated in the sack of Rome]. They live in the narrow strip, and border on the Adriatic. And here is the inner end of the Adriatic Gulf.'

p. 46. καὶ κακόβιοι δὲ πάντες εἰσι, καὶ ζώννυνται τὰς κοιλίας ζώναις πλατείαις, ὅταν πίνωσιν. 'All are of *loose morals*. They bind their *thighs* with wide girdles,' etc.

The passage should run: 'They all live hardily, and when they drink, they gird their bellies with wide belts.'

p. 64. παρ' οἷς δὲ σῖτος καὶ μέλι γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν· 'And that of corn and honey they make a drink.'

Read: 'And such of them as have corn and honey, make their drink also from these materials.'

ib. 'They thresh their corn and store it in vast granaries.'

Read: 'They bring the corn-ears into great houses, and thresh them there.' The contrast is between the indoor threshing in Britain and the open-air threshing-floors of the sunny south.

p. 73. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum, et hiems appetebat: 'Thule was seen, which up to this had lain concealed in winter.'

Read: 'Thule also was sighted, but only from a distance, because their orders were to go no further, and winter was at hand.'

The rest of this chapter from the *Agricola* of Tacitus is badly rendered.

p. 76. in cuius aede perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos: 'in whose temple are perpetual fires that never *brighten into sparks*: when the fire *is growing* dull, it turns into stony brocks' [*sic*].

Read: 'In her temple [*i.e.* Sul Minerva's] the fires never go out, yet never whiten into ashes; when the fire has got dull, it turns into round lumps like stones.'

The passage immediately preceding the above reads in Solinus: 'in quo spatio magna et multa flumina, *fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium:* quibus fontibus præest Sul Minervae numen.'

Mr. Dinan's text omits altogether the very important words in italics ('there are hot springs furnished with sumptuous equipment to serve men's needs'), and his translation gives us merely: 'This area contains many fine rivers. The presiding divinity is Minerva.'

p. 84. 'Quae refero, ut innuam quemadmodum Pytheas eo paulatim pervenerit ubi nulla tandem nox foret in aestivo solstitio, ac simul insinuem, quam grata esse debeat illius memoria qui primus mortalium tam longe processit': 'I mention this to suggest how Pytheas *might* step by step have won the point where there was no night at all; and also to suggest *how pleasant the recollection must have been to him* who was the first being to penetrate so far.'

Read: 'I mention this to suggest how Pytheas arrived by degrees at the point where at last there was no night at the time of summer solstice, and at the same time to remark incidentally how dear to us should be the memory of the man who was the first of mankind to advance so far (north).'

ib. At fabulam sapit 'neque terram ibi porro esse': '*But he knew that it was a fable* to say "that *further on* there was not land, etc."'

Read: 'But it may be urged that it smacks of fable to say (as Pytheas said) that there is there no more either land,' etc.

Here *porro* is Gassendi's translation of ἔτι (v. p. 82).

p. 306. ταῖς ἁμάξαις κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν κασσίτερον: 'carrying over the lumps of tin on chariots.'

Read: 'They convey the tin in great quantities on their waggons.'

p. 308. οἱ μὲν ἐκ λιμνῶν ἀβύσσων ῥέουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἔχουσι τὰς πηγὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιῤῥοίας τὴν δὲ ἐκβολὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ποιοῦνται, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν: 'Some [rivers] have their sources in deep lakes, some rush down from the mountains; *the former* discharging into the ocean, *the latter* into the Mediterranean.'

Read: 'Some flow from fathomless lakes, others spring and well out from the hills. Some, again, fall into the ocean, others into the Mediterranean sea.'

From this onwards the translation is exceedingly inaccurate. The very important section at pp. 319, 321, on Celtic dress, is specially bad. But time and space fail, and I will give only two more examples of Mr. Dinan's adventures among the ancients.—Posidonius of Apamea is being 'translated.'

p. 312. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσις σκολιοὺς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἔχουσα, καὶ τοῖς τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρῶν ὄχθοις προσαράττουσα καὶ μεγάλους ἀπορῥηγνῦσα κολωνούς, πληροῖ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. 'As the waves break obliquely against the steep shores, they detach large fragments of rock full of gold ingots.

Read: 'For the flow of the rivers (in Gaul) forms sharp angles, and dashing against the buttresses of the adjacent hills breaks off great masses, and fills the stream full of gold dust.'

p. 316. τῶν δὲ ἐπιφανεστάτων πολεμίων κεδρώσαντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπιμελῶς τηροῦσιν ἐν λάρνακι, καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύουσι, σεμνυνόμενοι διότι τῆσδε τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν προγόνων τις, ἢ πατήρ, ἢ καὶ αὐτός, πολλὰ χρήματα διδόμενα οὐκ ἔλαβε. 'As regards the heads of the more famous *victims*, they embalm them with the oil of the cedar tree, and carefully preserve them in a casket. They show them to strangers with pride, vaunting *that their ancestors* [*and themselves?*] [sic] *had not acquired them by purchase, even for much money.*'

Read: 'The heads of their most distinguished foes they embalm, and keep carefully in a casket. They make a show of these trophies to stranger guests, and the host says with pride that for this head one of his forebears, or his father or himself, as the case may be, was offered much money and refused it.'

Mr. Dinan's knowledge of Greek and Latin is evidently insufficient. He would do well before proceeding further with his labours either to devote some years to the intensive study of those languages, or to secure a collaborator who knows them adequately. He is conferring a very doubtful boon on Celtic students by work of this sort.

W. J. Watson.

AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH

It is pleasant to observe indications that the Gaelic movement in Scotland, so faithfully fostered by the An Comunn Gaidhealach, continues to make sensible progress, and on sound lines. The first essential is the support of the Gaelic-speaking people. In Scotland, as in Ireland, the cultivation of the ancient national tongue has been hindered by the unfortunate idea that the knowledge of Gaelic acts in some mysterious way as a hindrance to 'getting on.' It has taken some time to dispel this delusion. Perhaps it is not yet quite got rid of, but at any rate it is less in evidence. That this is so is proved by the ready and even enthusiastic response to the efforts of the organisers of An Comunn who are engaged in forming branches in the Highlands and Islands. This success amply justifies the forward movement. For many years An Comunn was known merely through its annual musical and literary festival, the Mòd. With wider views and larger funds it has now adopted a larger and more aggressive policy, for which the time is fully ripe. It is not too much to expect that in the near future every corner of the Gaidhealtachd will respond to this new and welcome stimulus.

An Comunn have done wisely in recognising the importance of the assistance to the native language that may be rendered by the Churches. This influence is marked in the case of Wales, where Welsh is not only the medium of the pulpit, but also of the Sabbath School and of the Bible Class. An Comunn have recently approached the Scottish Churches by means of deputation, with gratifying results. The Highland people, to their credit, are still sufficiently unsophisticated to attach some importance to the opinion of their ministers, and when that opinion is shown decisively on the side of the retention and cultivation of the Gaelic, a great step has been attained towards our ancient and honourable language being held in proper respect among its native speakers.

It cannot be too clearly understood that at the present time, while there is no dearth of people who can speak Gaelic, there is a very plentiful lack of people who can read and write Gaelic. In other words, Gaelic is not sufficiently taught in schools; Gaelic-speaking boys and girls are not provided with the opportunity of entering on their heritage as Gaels; they are, in that respect, allowed to grow up illiterate. This, it is not too much to say, is an anomalous and intolerable state of things. The Gael have not deserved thus meanly of the British Empire. It is their own fault if they suffer it to continue. The decision lies wholly with the people. There is no doubt whatsoever that the people of any district or parish in the Highlands, if they make their wishes felt in the matter, can have their sons and daughters taught their native language in the public schools. The departmental bogey may be dismissed: whatever it may have been in the

past, there is no reason to suppose that at the present time the Scotch Education Department is hostile to Gaelic.

The real difficulties, such as they are, lie in a different direction, and they are practical but surmountable. The first is the question of text-books, well printed, interesting, and graduated. On this important question a good deal of light was thrown by the recent educational conference at Perth held under the auspices of An Comunn. The general result of the conference was to show that while there is at present in the market an approximately sufficient number of elementary books, there are practically no text-books suitable for the more advanced work now demanded in view of the inclusion of Gaelic as a subject for University preliminary examinations and bursary competitions. This defect An Comunn has undertaken to remedy by a series of suitable books, for the production of which they are enlisting the services of scholars.

The other difficulty referred to is the supply of teachers for all grades of schools who shall not only be Gaelic-speaking, but also possess a competent literary knowledge of the language. For such teachers we must look to the training centres and the universities. Further, all diligence should be used to secure their services for the Gaelic-speaking area. An Comunn is doing something towards this desirable end, but their efforts will be of comparatively little avail unless the policy is backed by the Highland people through their school boards.

In connection with the supply of teachers, the summer school for Gaelic ought to be useful. This is now the third year of the experiment. In the first year the school was held at Roy Bridge in Lochaber. It was well attended and successful. Last year in Oban it was less successful. In the present summer it has been decided to shift the venue to Islay, and the necessary arrangements are well advanced.

The next annual Mòd is to be held in Inverness in September. On former occasions the Inverness Mòd was most successful in every respect, and proved a considerable stimulus to work in the North. There can be no doubt that for the good of the cause it is well that this great annual gathering should be held as often as possible within the Highland line, where it appeals directly to the people to whom it is of the greatest importance that it should appeal.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 1912

AN OLD INVENTORY OF THE LAIRD OF COLL'S WRITS

NIALL D. CAMPBELL

AMONG the Argyll MSS. at Inveraray I found recently the following Inventory, undated, but, from the handwriting and contents, made before 1600. Whether the originals exist or not is at present unknown. As the document throws light on some alliances of the MacLeans of Coll hitherto lost sight of, and mentions a Prioress of Ycolmkill, who was a MacLean, it is here printed verbatim. Unfortunately no dates are given, but Genealogists of that Clan will be able to throw more light upon it.

THE INVENTER OF YE LAIRD OF COLLES LETTERIS

1. Ane band betwix M^{c}Kyne of ardemorcharne and ye laird of coill.
2. Ane uthyr band betwix Anguis M^{c}coneill and him.
3. Ane dischairge of Maryoun neyclene prioress of Ycollmekyll to ye laird of coill and ane uthyr discharge and acquittance of hirres under forme of Instrument,
4. Ane obligatioune of Mr. Johnne Carswell and his spous Margaret campbell of twa hundryth merkis.
5. Ane obligatioune of Hector M^{c}clanes zounger to renunce as Kynd[n]es to ye laird of coill of ye landis of Kyllenan.
6. Ane lettir of gift of hector m^{c}clanes to ye laird of Coill of master Senschaldshipe.
7. Ane band of manrent of Jon bane m^{c}donelour and utheris his freyndis maid to ye laird of coill with thair calpis.
8. Ane compt maid betuix ye laird of coill and ane of his awin servandis.
9. Ane obligatioun maid be ye vicar of coill to resigne ye vicarage of coill.

10. Ane obligatioun maid be hector mᶜclane of dowart to ye laird of coill to mantene him in ye landis of lochzeild and Kyrklands of coill.
11. Ane contract of mariage betuix ye laird of loupe and ye Laird of coill.
12. Ane lettir sent from the capitane of Carneburgh for certain drogges.
13. Ane precept direct be James Mᶜconeill to poynd for ye laird of coilles tocher gude.
14. Ane assurance of Lawchlane Mᶜclanes to ye laird of coll.
15. Ane uther assurance maid be him.
16. Ane contract betuix Mᶜclane and ye laird of coll to refer all things amangis to ye secreit counsall
17. Ane discharge of Mr. patrik Mᶜclanes of ye landis of quinische and personage of ye same.
18. Ane licence to ye laird of coll be hector Mᶜclane of dowart to marie with ye yong laird of barra.
19. Ane obligatioun of hector Mᶜclane of dowart to ye laird of coill.
20. Twa Instruments of sesing of Ornsay and Terrow and coirneikmore to ye laird of coill.
21. Ane lettir of tak and precept of sesing of ye saids lands.
22. Ane acquittance of James nycolsones of xx lib.
23. Ane acquittance of ye priour of Ornesayis to ye laird of coll.
24. Ane instrument uppoun certane conditiones betuix ye said laird of coill and his brother neill.
25. Ane contract betuix hector Mᶜclane and ye laird of coilles father towart ye landis of Lochzaild.
26. Ane remission of hector Mᶜclanes of dowart to Johnne Mᶜclane off Coll.
27. Ane obligatioun of hector Mᶜclanes and Jon dowis for ye soume of vᶜ merks [500] to be payit for Neill brother to ye laird of coill.
28. Ane acquittance of robert lattrik of ane soume of money for ye personage of Quyneinsche.
29. Ane letter of maintenance of allester mᶜKayne of ardmorcharnes to ye Laird of Coll.
30. Ane acquittance of Mr. Johnne Carswalles of lxii. libs.
31. Ane precept direct be Mᶜclane to ansur the laird of Coill of certane restis.
32. Ane contract of mairage betuix Jon Dow & ye laird of Coilles dochter.
33. Ane acquittance of Johne dow Mᶜclanes of twa hundryth merks

in parte of payment of ye tocher gude giffin with his concubine and apperand spous Margaret M^{c}clane.

34. Ane obligatione of Johne dowis maid to abyd at ye laird of colles counsall baith be se and land.

Notes on the Above

Number 3. This Maryoun neyclene had as Prioress of Icolmkill a letter from Queen Mary under the Privy Seal in 1567. And in 1574 she granted her lands to Hector M^{c}Clane of Dowarde. Her immediate predecessor was Mary Farquhardson or M^{c}Gilleone, who was appointed in 1548; and Anna, daughter of Donald Makgellane, was Prioress in 1509, and died 1543,—so her tombstone at Iona states. From this it appears that the rulers of this nunnery were nearly always M^{c}Leans. The Convent owned the small island of Gunna off Coll.

Number 4. This is John Carswell, Rector of Kilmartin, 1553-1562, who was Treasurer of the Diocese and author of a Gaelic Liturgy, and who became Bishop of the Isles in 1566.

Number 12. Carneburg was a very strong castle in the desolate Treshnish Isles, whose ruins are still visible.

Number 13. This points to a marriage with the MacDonalds of Dunivaig and Kintyre.

Number 16. Evidently of the year 1561, when the Lord of Duart, who had ravaged Coll in the Laird's absence, and had even imprisoned his tenants because Coll had refused to follow and serve Dowart, because he was a free Baron holding his lands *in capite* of the Crown. The Privy Council ordered Dowart to make full reparation and to cease from future molestations. (*Reg. Priv. Council.*)

Number 17. Master Patrick M^{c}Clane, who had been presented to the Bishopric of the Isles and Abbacy of Icolmkill by Queen Mary in 1565, on account of his inability resigned his right to Master John Carswell, who became bound to pay him a yearly pension. (*Reg. Priv. Seal*, vol. xxxii. p. 126.)

Number 18. The Laird of Barra was a M^{c}Neill.

Number 33. This is a curious proof of the unseemly 'handfasting' custom. Evidently Margaret was only on approval, yet a tocher had been provided in anticipation of her eventual marriage. In the '*Account of the Clan Maclean*, by a Seanachie,' published in 1838, at p. 105, two other instances are given of this custom surviving amongst this Clan, but no mention is made of this case.

A few years later than the period covered by this Inventory, viz. on 23 August 1609, Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, promulgated the well-known Statutes of Icolmkill at Iona in the presence of all the great chiefs of the various Isles, and by one of its clauses marriages contracted for certain years were declared illegal.

John dow is probably the one mentioned in the pedigrees as 'of Morvern,' brother of Hector Oig, Lord of Dowart.

In 1528 King James v. in his Charter of Coll to Iain M^{c}Clayne, grandson of the deceased Iain M^{c}Clayne of Coll, mentions *the destruction of the old writs* of this Barony, presumably during the incessant disturbances in the islands (*Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. v. p. 2).

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(*Continued from page* 21)

GAELIC TEXT

CID tra acht tangadar neoill dorcha dub-glasa na h-aidchi tar dreith [1] thalman uili. Acus o do riacht Tidd an tan sin a comfogus na caillead a rabadar na fir, adchonnairc uada do'n tulaid a roibi taitnem na sciath scell-bolgda [2] acus ruithean na cathbarr in-orda in-leagair tré thana na caillead ré soillsi in esca. Acus do to*cht* ar Tid [3] ag a faigsin. Agus tainig roime d'a n-indsaigid arapa.[3] Acus do nocht a chlaidim, acus do bertaired [4] na fagada bega [5] bun-ger ra bai 'n a laim, acus do fhiarfaid co h-ainmin ainindeach: 'Canas tangadar na firu,' ar se, 'acus ca folach do berthai?' [6] Acus nir labair duine dib ris. Acht [7] is ann sin da erig taisech bailc beoda bunata na buidne sin .u. Corennus curata, acus do gab a fhaga suainmeach so-dibraicthi in a laim laidir lan-calma; acus tuc urcar do Tid, cor' ben is in croicend an tuirc adbail allaid bai uime d'a leith clí, cor' bean crand na sleigi a n-ingnais a h-iaraind etar a ucht [8] acus a imlinn. Acus ro gabastar aduath [9] feochair fergach an gilla sin co ro ergestair a fholt caem curchanach amar scaith sciath [10] sciach, acus do bai co h-udmall anshadail aínindeach [11] ag ínred [12] a aichthi acus a édaig ré feochrugud na feirgi bai fair. Acus adraig ar an magh min-alaind a coindi na curad. Acus do gab 'g a n-agallaim, acus is ed do raid: 'Anaid re h-imbualadh, a ogu, uair nocha n-fuilímsi acht me a m' aenaran ar an m-be*r*naig.' Acus ni roibi a

[1] dreich in. [2] bolcach. [3–3] Eg. omits. [4] be*rtaigh*.
[5] Ed. bega bega. [6] Eg. adds or*aibh*. [7] Eg. omits. [8] Ed. h-ucht.
[9] adfuath. [10] Eg. omits. [11] áinmineach. [12] inn*redh*.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1] HOWBEIT there came the dark black-grey clouds of night over the whole surface of the earth. And when at that time Tydeus came close to the wood in which the men were, he saw, through an opening in the wood by the light of the moon, at a distance from the knoll on which he stood the gleam of the overlapping[2] shields and the glint of the helmets studded with gold and jewels. He became silent on seeing them. He went towards them nevertheless. He bared his sword, and brandished the little sharp spears which he carried and inquired roughly, angrily: 'Whence came the men?' said he, 'and why are you in hiding?' None of them spoke to him. But the valiant Cythonius, the strong, active, sturdy leader of the band, rose up and seized his thonged, easily hurled javelin in his strong, full-brave hand and made a cast at Tydeus. The spear stuck in the skin of the huge wild boar which covered him, on his left side, so that the shaft, but not the iron point, struck him between the breast and the navel. Fierce, wrathful horror possessed that warrior so that his beautiful, wavy hair rose like the shadow of a hawthorn bush, and he was restlessly, impatiently, nervously chafing his face and raiment in consuming the wrath that seized him. He stepped forth on the smooth, beautiful plain to meet the champions, began to address them and spoke thus: 'Bide the (time

[1] Th., ii. 527.

[2] *Scell-bolg*, according to Stokes, from Ags. *sceldburh* 'testudo': *scell* (ex. **skeldh*), 'shield,' and *bolg* for *borg* (*Irische Texte*, IV. (2) p. 543).

*fur*each sin acason acus [1] tangadar d'a innsaigid. Acus [2] a d'chonnairc-sim na firu sin indus ba lía ina mar do shail, tainig roímí suas a mullach na cairrgi a m-bid Spins. Agus do bai ag brisead na cairrgi comdaigne d'a lamaib croma curata no co riacht mullach na cairrgi. Acus [3] o da riacht suas co n-a roibi [4] eagla fair uilc do denam ris a leith d'a druim, ro thachail acus do tarraing [5] carraig n-dermair n-do-fulachta a roibi feidm seisrigi sonairte do tharraing a tendtaib talman. Acus ro thogaib uas a gualaind co seitreach sir-chalma amal an tilcoma tend tachair ro dibraic Polus mear mor-mennmach ar an laechraid Laipit-eagda ar bansib Piratous. Acus ba machtnugud reis in m-buigin teind Tiabanda sin Tidt do beith is in carraig [6] os a cind. Acus tarlaig Tidd an tan sin an charraig [6] ua samalta ri sliab car' [7] srain acus car' [7] srailleastair an *fur*med fuasnadach sin na co ra thuitseadar gnuisi na gasraidi sin acus an arm urnochta ar lar an aen fhecht acus an aen uair, acus ra lenaid a lama na laeich sin. Ro trascraid acus ro thuindsnit ochta na n-ánrad sin co bristi [8] buaidirthi co n-curthi anuaid maraen a ro-teilcthi [9] ro cuir an curaid sin ar an cloich [10] chruaid.[11] Cid tra acht torchair cetrar curata comlaind an aen fecht ua'n cloich sin co fuaradar bas leis. Acus do theithseadar in dirim croda curata sin fochetoir, uair fa derrscaigthech de-cineoil [12] an cethrar fuaratar bas and. Da bai ar a réim sin fer rigda ro-menmnach solusta saignenta dib sin .*i.* Dorelus. Acus da thuit and sin an fer suaithnig so-chinelach do sil Mairt mic Ioip, acus ba talchair re tachar [13] an tren fer sin .*i.* Teron. Acus atorchair and sin an marcach mor-menmnach urbadach imneadach .*i.* Ilas, acus ba troigtheach e an tan sin. Acus adrochair ann dno an fer miscneach mor-dalach do sil primd(a) Penteus [14] .*i.* Pedimus. Adchonnairc imorro Tid tuitim na tren fir sin acus na sluaig bristi buaidirthi ar chena do teitheadh, acus ra charastair [15] na da fhaga fhir-gera bai 'na laim, acus do

[1] acht. [2] Eg. omits. [3] Eg. omits. [4] roisi.
[5] Eg. adds in. [6–6] Eg. omits. [7] gor. [8] brisdis.
[9] Eg. omits. [10] cloich-si. [11] com-chruaid. [12] dedh-cineoil.
[13] Ed. an an. [14] Peneteus. [15] rocasatar.

of) smiting, warriors, for I am alone in the breach.' There was no delay on their part in attacking him. When he saw that the men were greater in number than he thought, he climbed to the top of the rock in which the Sphinx used to dwell. And he was breaking the firm rock with his bent, powerful hands in his climb to the top. When he reached up and was not in further fear of attack from behind, he dug out and moved a very large, unbearable boulder which would require a strong team to pull out of its earthgrip. And he raised it above his shoulder with might and force like [1] the firm, contentious cup which the active, high-spirited Pholus hurled at the Lapithean braves at the wedding of Pirithous. It was a matter of deep concern to that stout Theban band that Tydeus was on the rock above them. Then Tydeus threw that hill-like rock, which tore and crashed by the mighty force with which it was hurled, so that the faces of the warriors and their drawn weapons fell at the same moment to the ground, the weapons still clinging to the hands of the heroes. The spirit of the warriors was overwhelmed and crushed, broken and stunned by the terrible force and mighty cast with which that champion hurled the hard rock. And so it was that four stout men of valour fell instantly under the stone and were killed by it. The whole of the brave, heroic band fled straightway, for the four who were killed were distinguished and noble. There was in the number a royal, high-spirited, brilliant, radiant man by name Dorylas. There fell there the well-known, nobly born Theron, of the blood of Mars, son of Jove, and sturdy in quarrel was that mighty man. There fell also the courageous, dreaded, dangerous horseman Halys, and stalwart was he at the time. The fourth was Phaedimus, spirited and stately; of the stock of the far-descended Pentheus was he. Now when Tydeus saw the fall of these valiant men and the others fleeing confused and broken, he poised the two very sharp spears in his hand and threw

[1] Th., ii. 563, Qualis in adversos Lapithas erexit inanem | Magnanimus cratera Pholus. Cormac (s.v. *creitir*) has *tulchuba* = *creitir* (cratera) 'a cup.'

dibraig [1] íad co direach degdaingen. Acus as a h-aithli ro lingastair leim do'n chruad-charraig a roibi ar an mag mor a mach an deagaid theithid na Tiabanda. Acus ra gab-san cruaid-sciath cuanda cath-buadach in fhir thalcair Tiabanda .i. Terón. Acus ra gabastair an craiceand adhuathmar alltaighi bái aigi fein um a chend.

As a h-aithli sin doronsad na Tiabanda dirim dluith catha comdaingen dib an adaig Thid [2]ar a si.[2] Tid, imorro, ra thairring seig co talcair tindesnach a claideam m-bailc m-beoda m-Bistoneagda as a truaill taebguirm aisgedaig urbaga a athar ainmnig .i. Aeniusa do Thid re tren tachar a cuil a chaem-duirinn. Ra timairg acus do timchill cach ré fecht na firu sin; ro scail acus ro scathastair an fecht araill. Acus ua farrach an fulang do na feraib sin taidleach na n-arm limtha lasamain ré cheili. Acus ba toirmeasc tachair do na tren-feraib sin a n-imad ag índsaigid aenfhir co n-tuairgidis acus co n-tuindsidis curpo a cheili ag rochtain an rig sin. Acus fa cumang croda comraidi Thid iter armaib urnochta na laechraidi lan-marbtha uime a n-oir acus a n-iar. Ro bo neimneach nem-thoglaidi [3]acus fa fosaid[3] an fir-laech sin ag srained na sochaidi uada a mach co cian. Acus ua dermair di-foillsigud an fhir sin ag imirt a sceith co m-biad ar miri acus ar m(e)arbeallaig ma cuairt, co na faghad fer crechtach [4] crithnaigthech ris ba teinninus teitheadh [5] cái na conair can Tid croda Calidonta do thegmail do ar a chínd ur tarnsa, co n-tilged-sium acus contogluaisid uad na faga [6] fada fir-gera na bidis na saitheadaib saiti do-dibraicthi a sgiath acus a cnis an curad [7] sin. Acus ua lor do gresacht a gaiscid-sium .i. Tid na fiar-letarthi fuili co n-fertais na fir sin fair. Acus is ann ro batar cethrar curad comramach ag cirrad chuirp in rig sin, acus ba h-iad so an anamanda .i. Deilocus [8] beogda bruthnaigthech, acus fer mer do Tiabandaib,[9] Plegeus tnuthach tomaithmech co tuaig lethain ledarthaig tuir chatha chomlainn, Gian [10]

[1] diubraig, here and elsewhere, Eg. has *diu*, Ed. *di*.
[2–2] Eg. omits. [3–3] fosug*thi*. [4] crechtnaidhteach.
[5] Eg. here and usually elsewhere has tei*ch*eadh. [6] faghadha.
[7] curaidh. [8] Deilicus. [9] Eg. adds in. [10] dian.

them with good aim and great force. Thereafter he leapt off the hard rock on which he stood on to the open plain in pursuit of the fleeing Thebans. And he seized the beautiful, battle-victorious, hard shield of Theron, the stout Theban. And he put the dreadful wild (beast) skin, which he wore, about his head.

Thereafter the Thebans made a second time a firm, compact battle phalanx to face Tydeus. He, on the other hand, drew vigorously and at once from its blue-sided scabbard his stout, springy, Bistonian sword, the warlike gift of his renowned father Oeneus,[1] to wield in fierce conflict in his trained fist. He encompassed and surrounded these men at one moment, he scattered and dispersed them the next. Hard to endure to these men was the gleam of the polished, flashing weapon as they clashed against each other. Their number was a hindrance to these mighty men in the fight inasmuch as they struck and bumped against each other in their rush upon the one warrior. Forceful and brave were the strides of Tydeus among the bare weapons of the stark-dead heroes around him front and rear. Virulent, deliberate, and steady was that valiant hero thrusting the multitude from him to a distance. And very great was his ubiquity as he plied his shield and maddened and paralysed them all around, so that the wounded, trembling one who eagerly desired to flee could find neither road nor path where the brave Tydeus of Calydon was not there right in front of him. They cast and threw at him their very sharp, long spears so that they stood fixed, though easily removed in the shield and skin of the champion. And sufficient to spur the valour of Tydeus were the bloody wounds which these men inflicted upon him. Four fighting champions were conspicuous in maiming the body of that royal (warrior), and these were their names: Deilochus, active and impetuous; Phegeus, a passionate Theban, stern and blustering, with a broad hacking-axe strong in battle and conflict; Gyas of hearty blows, a Theban hero

[1] Th., ii. 587, Mavortia munera magni Oeneos.

glon*n*-mér gaisgideach Tiabanda tairgsenach feramail forlaind, (acus) Lochapanteis ledarthach lan-echtach. . . .[1]

Fol. 7a 1. Cid tra acht ro roth acus ra (s)rain Tid na trein-fíru sin co n-toitidis re tentaib talman uad. Is ann sin ra badar ina Tiabanda ag an airim fein. Acus fa galar leo a teirci re tachar an tan sin. Is and sin ro fotraicsidar Croimeus caithmegda dar bo mathair Driopi Phoiniseagda an m-brathluirg n-druimnig n-daig-remair, amail ralaig ro-remair, acus adubairt: 'A firu,' ar se, 'an racha an t-aen duine imlan uaind ar cur ar nair co h-Argus, acus a aes cumtha,' ar se, 'ni ferrdi duindi[2] imad ar lam acus ar n-arm acus a dul-san beó; acus ní h-ead sin ra gellamair-ni,[3] a Chidon acus a Lampus, do'n rig .ɪ. do Etiocles.' Acus an tan ra bai-sium ag a raga[4] sin, tarlaig Tid tren-glonnach urchar do sleig seimnig sar-echtaig do co tarla 'n a bel acus 'n a braigíd cor' treg(ai)d[5] a inni[6] acus a orclaigi in a cliab; acus gin mad beo ro bad[7] balb co brath in degaid sin. Et as a h-aithli sin do gabastair Proipas mac Teispis[8] a brathair ledarthi leathmarb leis itir a da laim, acus do bai ag toirsi acus ag truagnemela co mor as a los. Acus is and sin do dibraig Tid .ɪ.[9] faga trom-ger tul-faebrach a leith do druim do,[10] cur' drebrisastar[11] a asnada cuara curata, cor' gab urraindi tré brathair ro bai iter a da láim. Acus do fhoslaig an brathair a suile ag buain an gai ind, agus do bai ag fegan[12] brathar os a chind, acus adubairt Proipas: 'Co tucthar aigid mar so ar do mac fein, a Thid.' Acus ro siuigsead[13] an da[14] brathair sin amlaid sin ré Tid, acus do dun cach dib suili a ceili.

Et is ed terna a sin[15] Menetus a aenruc,[16] acus ro teithsium no co ra thuit. Agus rug Tid air. Acus ro thogaib Menetus a da laim, acus do bai ag iarraid anacail[17] ar Thid: 'Ar na dee[18] d'á n-adraid riut[19] leic uait misi d'indsaigi na

[1] One or two words illegible. [2] duinn. [3] gellamar. [4] rada.
[5] treogh. [6] n-inní. [7] Eg. adds marbh dó a beth. [8] Tepis.
[9] Eg. omits. [10] Eg. omits. [11] dedh-brisit*er*. [12] Eg. adds in.
[13] tuitsit. [14] Ed. dana. [15] Eg. adds .ɪ.
[16] Eg. has in text *in rig* with *no aen rug* written over the text.
[17] anaclia. [18] déibh. [19] Eg. omits.

attacking, manly, daring; and Lycophontes, lacerating, featful. . . .

Howbeit Tydeus routed and dispersed these valiant men who fell to the firm earth before him. Then the Thebans took to numbering themselves, and they were distressed to find themselves so few for the conflict. And now the furious Chromis, whose mother was the Phoenissian Dryope, brandished a knotted very thick battle-club, like a huge oak, and said: 'Men, shall this single individual go scathless from us and carry the tidings of our disgrace to Argos? And, comrades,' added he, 'the number of our hands and weapons shall avail us nought if this man escapes alive. Moreover, Cydon and Lampus, we promised quite differently to King Etiocles.' As he was speaking thus, the puissant Tydeus made a cast of his riveted, fatal spear, which entered his mouth and throat and pierced his entrails, and his . . . in his trunk, so that though he had lived he would have been dumb ever after. Thereafter Periphas, son of Thespius, carried away his brother mangled and half dead in his two hands and was grieving and bitterly lamenting on his account. Then Tydeus shot at his back with a heavy, sharp, front-edged spear, which broke through his curved, strong ribs, and whose point pierced his brother who was in his arms. The brother opened his eyes as the dart entered him, and he was looking at his brother as he bent over him, when Periphas said: 'May your own son, Tydeus, come to a violent end like this!' These two brothers perished thus by the hand of Tydeus, and each closed the other's eyes.

Menætes alone escaped, and he fled until he fell. Tydeus caught him up. Menætes raised his two hands and was asking quarter from Tydeus. 'By the gods whom you adore, suffer me to go to Thebes, where I shall tell your

Teibi cu ra indisur do scela innti, amal do mairbi-si sinne,' ar se, 'acus do beith-siu beo.' Nir [1] bo trocair imorro Tid do Menetus: 'Acus do berim mo breithir ris,' ar [2] Tid, 'na [3] geb-sa do dera ina do debrogoid,[4] uair is tu do geall mo chend-sa do breith leat do Eitiocles. Acus cuir uait t'arm [5] ar se, 'acus gab maitim n-anacail, uair ba gairid biá a d'bethaid ris na cathaib iar tain.'

Is ann sin tuc Tid athais n-imagallma acus imchainti ar na [6] Tiabandaib. Acus tainig athscis mor ann sin do Thid co nar fhéd a sciath d'imarcur [7] na a chlaidim do chongbail, co na snigdis srotha fola fiadhnaighi na miled ro marbastar as a trillsib troma taitnemacha, amal leoman mer maisileagda ar gur [8] air almad agus indili, [9]co n-bi[9] scitheach ar caithim an comaid sin. Cid tra acht fa tend ag Tid dul d'indsaig na Tebi, acus faidb fhuilidi for-derga na fer sin do breith leis do Eitiocles acus do na Tiabandaib ar chena, no co n-debairt [10]an ban-dea Menerba ris[10]: 'A mic ríg [11] na Calídone,' ar sí, 'ca misgus no ca mi-gradh fuil agat fort fen in tan tégi do d' tinnlacad do Tiabandaib? Acus na mill in cuscar ro curíus, acus na mór-gnima doronsed. Acus do gheba Grécaigh uili cathugud o Tiabandaib.' Acus ro tinntodh Menerbha áicnedh Tít ar sin.

Imthusa Ueníri ban-cumachtaighi. Ro innsaigh séig a lennan .ι. Mairt mac Ioib, acus ro eigh air ac iaraidh fortachta do Tiabandaib. Acus do furail ar Tít dul co Téibh do fagbail a oigheda acus ro raidh ris: 'Da madh e in tan tucas in gradh n-dermair damsa, acus me ac Ulcan. Acus ro chuadhus a d'cumdail-si, acus ro comracus rim.' [12]. . . re Ueínir et o ro comraic Mairt ré Uéinir and sin ro chruaid-cengail an slabrad sin iad an urd an adaltrais. Acus o d' chonnairc Ulcan iad ro thinoil na h-uili dee acus ban-dee co fhacadar co fiadnach a(da)ltrais na deisi sin. 'Acus da mad h-é an la fuaras-a an t-imdergad-sa as do loss a Mairt, do bertha-sa maithim damsa do na Tiabandaib.

[1] Ni ro trocair. [2] Eg. add *se*. [3] nach. [4] dibrogoid. [5] airm.
[6] Eg. omits. [7] imcar. [8] cur. [9–9] co m-bidh [10–10] Uenerua in ban-dei ris.
[11] Here is a short gap in Ed. the text of which is supplied from Eg.
[12] Here Ed. resumes, the text of Eg. being slightly different.

story, how you have slain us,' said he, 'while you yourself are still alive.' Tydeus showed no mercy to Menætes. 'Now by my word,' said Tydeus, 'I will not yield to your tears or your entreaty, for it was you who promised to bring my head to Etiocles. Lay aside your weapons,' said he, 'and accept grant of quarter, for your life will be short in the wars that are to come.'

Then Tydeus indulged in reproachful speech railing against the Thebans. And now great exhaustion seized him so that he could not carry his shield nor wield his sword, and very streams of the blood of the warriors whom he slew flowed from his heavy bright, tresses, like a raging lioness among droves and herds until she was exhausted devouring them. Howbeit Tydeus was strongly pressed to proceed to Thebes and to carry the blood-red weapons and armour of the men (whom he slew) to Etiocles and the Thebans generally. But the goddess Minerva said to him: 'Son of the King of Calydon,' said she, 'what hatred and ill-will against yourself possesses you, when you propose to deliver yourself to the Thebans? Do not nullify the victory you have won, nor the great deeds you have accomplished. All the Greeks will have (enough of) fighting from the Thebans.' Minerva thus caused Tydeus to change his mind.

As to Venus the goddess. She approached her paramour Mars, son of Jove, and she loudly called upon him to bring succour to the Thebans. And she urged him to send Tydeus to Thebes to his death, and said to him: 'If you only felt towards me as when you gave me great love when I was the wife of Vulcan. I went to your tryst, and you embraced me . . . . And when Mars and Venus were together they were firmly bound with a chain in the act of adultery. When Vulcan thus found them he summoned all the gods and goddesses who witnessed the conduct of the two. 'And were (things as they were) on that day when I endured this reproach on your account, Mars, you would obtain remission at my request for the Thebans. Even Vulcan, whom I have dishonoured, is readier to do my bidding than

Acus is mo do berad[1] Ulcan damsa[2] cach ní do chuindebaind fair anaisu,[3] a Mairt, ge do ronas a aimles. Acus créd mar[4] leigis damsa,' ar si,[5] in ingen[6] da thabairt do'n fhir thirdha Tiabanda .i. do Chaithim mac Agenoir, acus olc denam ré lucht na Tebi 'na dedaig.[7] Acus[8] is nair dutsi,' ar si,[9] ' co rob *tor*isi Ulcan re milliud na Tiabanda ina dutsi 'c a n-anacal. Uair is e Ulcan tre ét umatsa tuc forru cach col da n-dernatar .i. in muntorc tuc doib.'

Nochar fuilingestair trá[10] an fer cuanna cath-buadach sin .i. Mairt mac Ioif[11] brathair[12] Ueiniri do dul co diamain. Ro cuir a arma uadha acus ra toirling as a charpat. Acus ra gab[13] chuigi i[14] i crislacha a sceith, acus do gab co h-inmain ailgen ag a h-agallaim acus adbert: ' Is tu duine as docha lium do na dainib acus do na deib. Is taisgi[15] ra[16] baithfind-si mé fein is na srothaib adfuaraib ifernda na do rachad do grad-sa acus t'inmaine uaimsi acus grad lochta na Teibi. Acus chena,' ar se,[17] ' ní edaim gan techtaireacht do'n athair, d' Eoib,' [18] ar se, ' uair ata a cumachta a nim acus a talmain, ar muir acus ar tir. Acus ní fetar techt an adaid chainti an cumachtaigh sin. Uair do cinnestar Ioib acus na dee ar chena a thosach an domain an cath-sa do cur. Acht chena,' ar se, ' an tan beidid na cineada cechtarda a cath*ugud* ar faithi na Teibi .i. na Greig[19] acus na Tiabanda, do ber-sa fortacht acus foirithin ar [20]na cineadaib[20] tairisi Tiabanda. Acus do den-sa,' ar se, ' do comairli-si cach indus[21] do édab.[21] Uair legaid[22] na dee dunn furtacht ar carad,[23] acht na rab toigecht a n-agaid a toili.' Acus adubairt-sim[24] sin ro gre-seastair[25] a eocha disciri di-foillsigtheacha. Ba deinigtir saignen luath lasamain ré tinchur a diubraicthi an aimsir adfuair anbthenaigh[26] amal tainig Mairt mac Ioip roime[27] ris in techtairecht sin. Imthusa Mairt co nuigi sin.

[1] Eg. adds acus is mo. [2] Eg. omits. [3] annasu. [4] far. [5] MS. se. [6] Eg. adds rucas duitsi dar cenn Ulcain .i. Ermione. [7] degaid. [8] Eg. adds. [9] MS. se. [10] trath. [11] Ioib. [12] So MS., but evidently for *briathra*. [13] Eg. adds in ingin. [14] MS. .i. [15] tasca. [16] do. [17] Eg. adds acus. [18] Ioip. [19] Grécaigh. [20–20] in cinedh. [21–21] a fétab. [22] legfed. [23] carait. [24] son. [25] gressis. [26] ainmbenath*aig*. [27] Eg. omits.

you are, Mars. And how did you allow me,' added she, 'to give the girl to the wealthy Theban, Cadmus, son of Agenor, when you meant to bring evil on the Thebans afterwards. And it is a shame to you,' continued Venus, 'that Vulcan is more intent upon destroying the Thebans than you are upon protecting them. For it is Vulcan through his jealousy of you that has brought about all the evil they have done by giving them the necklace.'

Now Mars, the handsome, battle-victorious son of Jove, could not suffer the words of Venus to be spoken in vain. He laid aside his weapons and alighted from his chariot. He drew her towards him into the trappings of his shield and addressed her lovingly and soothingly and said: 'I love you more than any other, human or divine. I would rather drown myself in the ice-cold streams of hell than lose your love and affection and the love of the Thebans. Still,' said he, 'I must do the messages of father Jove,' continued he, 'for his power extends over heaven and earth, over sea and land. The command of that mighty one must not be disobeyed. For Jove and all the gods decreed from the beginning of the world that this war must be waged. Nevertheless,' added he, 'when both nations, the Greeks and the Thebans, are fighting on the plain of Thebes, I shall succour and aid the loyal Theban tribes. And I shall,' continued he, 'do your will in every way I may. For the gods permit us to assist our friends, provided we do not oppose their will.' When he had spoken thus, he urged on his nimble, invisible steeds. As quick as a swift-flaming lightning flash at the moment of its discharge in very cold, tempestuous weather was the (motion of) Mars, son of Jove, in executing that message. The affairs of Mars thus far.

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, LL.D.

Alexander Carmichael was born in the island of Lismore, on 1st December 1832. His remote ancestors seem to have been connected with the Columban church established in Lismore by St. Moluag. Its cathedral, of which the nave still survives as the parish church, was built by Bishop Carmichael—*an t-Easbuig Ban*, the fair-haired Bishop—a remote relative of Alexander Carmichael. A college for the education of priests was maintained in the island until just before Dr. Carmichael's time, and one has heard him tell how warm a welcome he got in Uist from Father Macgregor who, as one of the last batch of students educated in Lismore, had been a frequent visitor at the house of Dr. Carmichael's parents.

The family also held some land in the island, and the head of the house was known as *Baran Tigh Sgurain*, the Baron of Sguran House. Dr. Carmichael used to tell very amusingly the story of how Black Donald Campbell of Airds, *Domhnull Dubh nan aird*, after paying great attention to the young baron, wiled his land from him in exchange for a sack of gold which was afterwards found to be the new copper coinage, judiciously mixed with a few pieces of gold. Thus cheated out of their inheritance, the family settled down to farming, in which occupation they continued till the time of our folklorist.

In his youth Alexander Carmichael had wished to enter the army, and having relationship with several of the Campbell houses, such as Dunstaffnage, Lochnell, Baleveolan and Barbreck, he had been promised a commission by the Duke of Argyll. The early death of his father changed the boy's career, however, and it being necessary for him to get settled in life, he was persuaded to accept a nomination for the Civil Service, obtained through the influence of his uncle, the minister of Durness.

The parish school was supplemented by the Greenock Academy, and by a collegiate school in Edinburgh, and in due time Alexander Carmichael satisfied the Civil Service Commissioners. Greenock, Dublin, Islay, Cornwall, Skye, Uist, Oban, Uist again, and lastly, for the sake of his children's education, Edinburgh—these were the scenes of his official life.

From his boyhood he had taken more than a passing interest in the lore and the landmarks of his race, and he early began to write systematically. It was in Uist, however, that he reached his full development and got to know, as few have ever known it, the inner life of the people. He was the friend of all. The pauper, the cottar, the crofter, the factor, the doctor, the priest, the minister—they all came to him sure of sympathy, whatever their cause of anxiety. The lorists opened their hearts to him. An idiot mother and daughter of North Uist would do for him and for those he brought with him the mystic dance of *Cailleach an Dudain*, which they were always chary of doing for any one else.

In the antiquities of the Outer Isles, Mr. Carmichael took a great interest, and discovered several objects, the existence of which had been previously unknown, such as the runic cross from St. Barr's in Barra, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh. To the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* he contributed several papers on ancient buildings, underground houses, carved stones, and other subjects. Such contributions were always sent through his friends, Captain Thomas and Dr. W. F. Skene. These papers were illustrated with careful drawings done by Mrs. Carmichael, who from first to last helped her husband greatly in his work. The Society made Mr. Carmichael a corresponding member.

Campbell of Islay sought his help, and got numerous tales and poems from him, some of which are in the *West Highland Tales*, and in *Leabhar na Feinne*, but many of which are still unpublished. To Sheriff Nicolson Mr.

Carmichael sent a very large number of proverbs, many of which were crowded out of the first edition of the *Gaelic Proverbs*, but were afterwards sent to Dr. George Henderson for the new edition. To the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Mr. Carmichael contributed valuable material, notably the Barra version of 'Deirdire,' afterwards published in book form, and translated into French and into German. He was also a frequent contributor to the *Gaidheal*, to the *Highlander*, to the *Inverness Courier*, and to other magazines and newspapers. After a time, however, he practically ceased contributing to periodic literature, finding that it took too much time from his more important writing. The *Celtic Review* contains nearly all his occasional papers of late years.

When Dr. Skene was preparing his *Celtic Scotland*, he asked Mr. Carmichael to write the chapter on old Highland land customs. This paper first turned the attention of Lord Napier and Ettrick to the condition of the crofters, and led to Mr. Carmichael being asked to write a more elaborate paper of a similar nature for the Crofter Royal Commission *Report*. Lord Napier used to say that those two papers had more to do with the passing of the Crofters Act than people knew. Years before, Mr. Carmichael had persuaded the Board of Inland Revenue to abolish the tax on carts and on dogs kept for purposes of herding.

It would take too long to mention all Dr. Carmichael's contributions to books written or prepared by his friends, but one might mention that he contributed to Lord Archibald Campbell's *Records of Argyll*, to Mr. W. B. Blaikie's *Itinerary of Prince Charlie*, and to the *Life of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum*. He was often a good deal divided between his desire to help a friend and the feeling that he should be preparing his own material for the press, although he knew that what he had collected would not all be dealt with by himself. He always felt grateful that he had lived to see *Carmina Gadelica* through the press; others will

feel grateful that the greater part of the new volumes has been prepared by the same hand.

Dr. Carmichael was Honorary President and chief of many Highland and Celtic societies. No honour that came to him gave him greater pleasure than his Honorary Presidency of the Celtic Societies of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews Universities. He was deeply interested in the Edinburgh University one, which in turn was warmly devoted to its Honorary President. He was never happier than in the company of the Highland lads, and for many years his house was the Saturday evening resort of the Gaelic-speaking students. When he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh University, the Highland students took advantage of the occasion to set afoot a movement which resulted in the presentation to Dr. Carmichael of full robes, hood and cap, and to Mrs. Carmichael of a silver tea service. This compliment he valued at least as highly as the honour which gave rise to it.

Six years ago a Civil List pension was bestowed on Dr. and Mrs. Carmichael jointly, an honour which came as a great surprise to the Doctor, who had not known that friends had been interesting themselves in the matter. What pleased him most was the compliment to his wife—a graceful action apparently done on Mr. A. J. Balfour's own initiative.

Dr. Carmichael passed away at his home in Edinburgh, on Thursday, 6th June—St. Columba's Day—his 'changing,' as the Gaelic puts it, being peaceful and unexpected. On the following Monday he was buried, in the simple Highland manner, in St. Moluag's Churchyard, in the Island of Lismore. His fellow-islesmen carried the coffin, covered with his plaid of Carmichael tartan, on their shoulders from the landing-place, and the son of the minister who had baptized him conducted a simple Gaelic service.

OUR INTERPRETER

By Kenneth Macleod

Others will weigh and appraise Dr. Carmichael's literary and artistic work; this is but a simple tribute from one of the folk to him who loved and interpreted the folk as none other has ever done. In the years to come, when Gaeldom as some of us have known it will have passed away, literary students will assuredly ask, What manner of man was this who preserved and interpreted so much of the ancient thought and character of his race? The answer may partly be found in *Carmina Gadelica*, for into its pages the author breathed much of his own remarkable personality; but to be even fairly complete, the answer needs to be supplemented by such as knew and loved the author both in public and in private.

Mr. W. Skeoch Cumming has given us a portrait of the man which is both true and striking, and which has earned for the artist himself the gratitude of all readers of *Carmina Gadelica*, and will earn for him still greater gratitude from our children. If one may put into words what the artist has put so much more vividly on canvas, what one saw first and last in Dr. Carmichael's personal appearance was a fine stateliness touched with emotion. When he entered a room, every eye seemed to say: This is a great Celtic gentleman, one who has lived in statelier and courtlier days. But such as knew him could always see the tenderness glowing through the stateliness, though the one never really blotted out the other. In his most tender moments, he was the stately gentleman, in his stateliest moods he attracted through his tenderness. It is difficult to get an English word to describe him exactly, though in Gaelic one would naturally use the word *uasal*—high thoughts and high deeds transfiguring person and manner. Seeing him, one thought of his own beautiful words: 'It is the

Alexander Carmichael

product of far-away thinking, come down on the long stream of time. Who the thinkers and whence the stream, who can tell? Some of the hymns may have been composed within the cloistered cells of Derry and Iona, and some of the incantations among the cromlechs of Stonehenge and the standing-stones of Callarnis.' What Dr. Carmichael was and looked had its root, however, in the present as well as in the past. To save what he could of the folk-literature of Gaeldom, he had sacrificed not merely his prospects, but also to a large extent his means, and of what remained not all was spent on himself or on his family. In Uist, which forty or fifty years ago was even poorer than it is to-day, he paid the excise dues and filled the meal-chest of many a poor crofter and of many a poorer cottar, and the very day he left the island to take up his residence on the mainland, he was suddenly called on to pay an account amounting to within a few shillings of one hundred pounds for stores ordered on behalf of people whose own orders would have been dishonoured by the merchants. Nor did he ever allow himself to be far away from the wood financially; again and again he would return to it to help some fellow-Gael in distress. Especially was this the case during his residence in Edinburgh. Some man of good, perhaps of famous, Hebridean blood was unfortunate in his business or broke down in health —Dr. Carmichael sacrificed part of his very moderate capital to keep the man afloat. A university student was unable to finish his session, and was practically starving himself to eke out what little money he had —Dr. Carmichael always found a gentleman's excuse to get such an one to become a member of his family. Seldom, indeed, was the stranger's place empty at the Doctor's table; only, the stranger was always as a son, and kept possession of his seat until the need was over, or until the situation was secured, or until some bad habit was got rid of. About such things he was proudly and tenderly silent himself; proudly and tenderly let such

things be told now, if only to remind ourselves that even fame must receive its crown at the hands of goodness.

To show the place given by the folk to Alexander Carmichael, one has to compare him with some of our other great ones. Through the *West Highland Tales* Campbell of Islay gained for our folklore a European reputation; but in spite of his patriotism and his charming manners, he was never quite one of us—he could never altogether hide the fact that he had learnt his art with other peoples and in other schools. And though he doubtless loved our tales and our beliefs for their own sake, yet: 'The following collection is intended to be a contribution to this new science of "Storyology." It is a museum of curious rubbish about to perish, given as it was gathered in the rough.' In another field, that of philology, Dr. Alexander MacBain was our greatest man. We were all proud of him; such of us as had been his pupils, or otherwise knew him intimately, loved him; and whether we knew him personally or not, we all accepted as gospel whatever he said *ex cathedra*. And yet one could never quite get rid of the feeling that in temperament he was Teutonic rather than Celtic, and that the scientist in him was always stronger than the Gael, as was really the case. Our feeling for Alexander Carmichael was both in kind and in degree different from our feeling for Campbell or for MacBain. He was essentially one of ourselves, only greater, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, soul of our soul. Thus we never thought of him as one merely collecting and dissecting our beliefs in the more or less sacred name of science; we thought of him rather as one who saw with our eyes, who felt with our heart, and who reproduced our past because he loved it himself and was proud of it. He, on his part, spoke of our cult, of our ways, of our beliefs; he seldom spoke of our 'superstitions'—never, indeed, in his later days. What our race thought as to the relations of man to man, and of man to the world and to the other-worlds, was all sacred in his eyes; the broken cry of the pagan as well

as the stately Praise of Iona, the unconscious worship of God through His sun and through His moon, as well as the conscious worship of God through Him who was born of the Virgin Mary. St. Columba, in our great days, grafted the vine on to the oak,—who are we, then, and what are we, that we should be wiser than our best ?

It is sometimes said that Dr. Carmichael idealised us ; not merely our past, which was allowable, being borne out by the beautiful material he had collected, but also our present, which itself contradicts his picture of it ; that he idealised, at any rate, such of us as had passed the three-score years, and more particularly such of them as had a tale to tell or a rune to chant. One does not care to deny so pleasant a charge. Every man makes his own world, to the extent, at any rate, of unconsciously reading himself into it ; and thus the worse the reality idealised, the better the man who idealises. It would be equally correct, however, to say that Dr. Carmichael had the prophet's eye to see beyond our faults and to find what of goodly thought and sentiment lay behind. In this he was of the same mould as St. Columba, whose two eyes, it is said, were so warm that they could always melt the shell which hid the kernel. Dr. Carmichael had just that same power—his sympathy and his tenderness never failed to get straight to the kernel. This was true of him both in his dealings with the folk and in his interpretation of the lore taken down from the folk. Campbell of Islay and his coadjutor, Hector Maclean, could get the heroic tales and ballads, the things which were recited in public at the ceilidh ; only Alexander Carmichael could have got the hymns and the incantations, the things which were said when the door was closed, and the lights were out. Even Father Allan MacDonald of Eriskay had his limits as a collector ; the very fact that he was the *anam-chara*, the soul-friend, of his people, closed certain doors against him. In matters of the heart and of the soul, the folk, as every collector knows, can be reticent and secretive to a baffling degree,

but in Dr. Carmichael's dealings with them, the tenderness which could get was delicate as the reticence which would hide. Even his great book, *Carmina Gadelica*, does not show the full extent of his intimacy with the folk and their childlike confidence in his sympathy. Not all of what he learned was written down, or if written down, has been preserved; many curious rites, embodied in unusual language, the outpourings of simple hearts in less conventional days, were revealed to him under a strict pledge of secrecy—a pledge which, needless to say, has been faithfully kept. A characteristic instance is within the writer's knowledge. One evening a venerable Islesman, carried out of himself for the time being, allowed Dr. Carmichael to take down from him a singularly beautiful 'going into sleep' rune; early next morning, the reciter travelled twenty-six miles to exact a pledge that his 'little prayer' should never be allowed to appear in print. 'Think ye,' said the old man, 'if I slept a wink last night for thinking of what I had given away. Proud, indeed, shall I be, if it give pleasure to yourself, but I should not like cold eyes to read it in a book.' In the writer's presence, the manuscript was handed over to the reciter, to be burnt there and then—but for days and nights after, the music of that rune haunted two men!

The glow of sympathy which made Dr. Carmichael great as a collector made him still greater as an interpreter of the material collected. Nothing seemed too elusive for him to grasp or too occult for him to pierce—the Columban eye hardly ever failed to melt the shell which concealed. Discussing this very point, Father Allan Macdonald, himself one of our great collectors, once remarked to the writer: 'I read the *Carmina* in Gaelic, but again and again I lay down the book, and say to myself, "This is a *dubh-fhacal*, a dark saying, who can understand it!" Then I look at Carmichael's translation, and I say at once, "Of course, it means that—it could mean nothing else."' An obvious explanation would be that Dr. Carmichael was specially

gifted for a special kind of work; which is true so far. But this special gift was really of a piece with the rest of his character. It has already been pointed out that the tenderhearted sympathy which made him the great collector and interpreter he was showed in his life as well as in his work. He had what can only be described as a beautiful mania for setting things right, and for unravelling the tangles in the lives as well as in the lore of the folk. Was there some one suffering from lack of appreciation? Dr. Carmichael wrote and spoke and laboured on his behalf. Was there some one in a worse position than his ability seemed to merit? The Doctor would try to move heaven and earth to get promotion for such an one. To many, indeed, it must have been a revelation to find how he would go out of his way to do things for others which neither his pride nor his modesty would allow him to do for himself or for his own. He never learned to be worldly-wise in such matters; his temperament rushed into quixotry, or what often goes by that name, as naturally as the plant grows towards the sun. And finer even than his loyalty to the living was his loyalty to the dead. It was always in his heart, for instance, to write an adequate appreciation of Sheriff Alexander Nicolson of the *Gaelic Proverbs*, feeling strongly that scant justice had been done to a great soul in Dr. Walter C. Smith's biography of him. The same loyalty prompted him to do justice to the memory of reciters whom he had never seen, but of whom he had heard, or whose lore he had taken down from the lips of others. Thus in his introduction to the 'Invocation of the Graces,' he describes, not only the man from whom he got the poem, but also the woman from whom the man had got it 'in the long ago.' But one need not dwell on this aspect of Dr. Carmichael's character further than to say that there are scores of people, some of them very humble, both on the mainland and in the Isles, who have good cause to know how dear to his heart was the memory of their lost ones. His very last letter, two days

before he passed away, was one of condolence with an old friend, and of tender chiding because he had not been given the opportunity of travelling from Edinburgh to the Isles to pay his last tribute to the departed. In the eyes of the folk the *fear-duthcha*, the good countryman, is he who is loyal both to the living and to the dead.

Heart-love for his people and intense sympathy with their ways and their thoughts made Dr. Carmichael our greatest collector and interpreter; but it was quite another quality which clinched his aim for him. It is doubtful if there can be found, in the whole literary history of the Gael, such another instance of gentle yet iron persistency in following out an aim, in realising a dream. What to others was a trip or at most a pilgrimage, was to Dr. Carmichael a life-long quest; his keenness, his determination, in pressing towards the mark can hardly be exaggerated. What he failed to get in Uist he searched for in Glengarry; what he lost in Kintyre he tracked in Sutherland. He might fail in the morning to get what he wanted, but there was still the evening to come, and another day, and another week, and another year; and sooner or later, he found, sure enough, the word or the line or the rite he sought. Had his motive been mere personal ambition or mere love of scientific research, he could never have so persevered, so toiled. The driving force must be sought elsewhere—in the blood, which alone can do such wonders—in the fealty, far-inherited, of a knight to a cause.

Year in year out, for nearly sixty years, Dr. Carmichael was on pilgrimage throughout Gaeldom. To many of us he seemed, both in temperament and in activity, as one of the Iona brethren re-born in the nineteenth century. His very appearance was suggestive of Iona: the stately and venerable figure undoubtedly was, while the Scots bonnet might easily be mistaken for a biretta, the shepherd's crook for a pastoral staff, and the long dark cloak, half-concealing the kilt, for a monk's habit. Even his travels by land and by sea carried one back in thought to the Iona

times and ways. In the Introduction to *Carmina Gadelica* we read: 'Three sacrifices have been made—the sacrifice of time, the sacrifice of toil, and the sacrifice of means, These I do not regret.' In the sacrifice of toil must be included astounding physical exertion. In the Outer Isles, Dr. Carmichael's adventures by ford and by ferry were proverbial, and were regarded with awe by a people who had oftentimes to risk, and who sometimes lost, their lives doing such things.[1] A few years ago, the writer had occasion to cross from the Carnach of North Uist to the Island of Balishare, and before venturing on to the strand, he took the precaution to ask if it was fordable. 'It is and it is not,' was the answer; 'it is but a Carmichael ford as yet!' The writer got across fairly wet about half an hour after! One of Dr. Carmichael's fording adventures deserves special mention. He was crossing, after nightfall, from South Uist to his home in Benbecula, by what is called the South Ford. The night was one of black mistiness, the ford what is known in Uist as 'the ford of the coming storm,' and as Mr. Carmichael, as he then was, waded nearly breast-high through one salt stream after another, all he was conscious of was the roll and the singing of waters, and the rhythm of a poem he had taken down a few hours before.

'Is suilean thu dha'n dall,
Is crann dha'n deorai thruagh.'

'Eyes art thou to the blind,
A staff to the pilgrim lone.'

This poem, rescued on shore and nearly lost at sea in one and the same evening, was none other than *Ora nam Buadh*, 'The Invocation of the Graces,' a composition said to be unique in the literature of Europe.

Travelling waves and fords was ease, however, compared with travelling the wilds in which the ancient lore had found its last refuge on the mainland. Dr. Carmichael

[1] Dr. Carmichael's successor was drowned in the North Ford.

was often seen on the king's highway; he might have been seen oftener, had there been people to see, on the sheep-track and on the bridle-path, and on the path which sheep had never marked and which bridle had never trod. Ostensibly his reason was, to shorten the distance and to save time; in reality he preferred the roads that had been, partly because of their natural beauty, but mostly because of their tendency to lead to an old ruin, or to some remote family in which the ancient ways and things were still cherished. Sometimes, however, he had the best of all reasons for his choice of the difficult path—the simple reason that there was none other! Only two years ago, Dr. Carmichael, then in his seventy-seventh year, went on a collecting pilgrimage throughout the northern counties, in the course of which he met with hardships which would have strained to the utmost the strength of a strong man in his prime. Once he had to spend the night, cold, wet, and tired, in the open air; more than once, after a long journey through peat-hags and corries, he had to pass the night as best he could on a hard chair by the fireside of some shepherd's hut. A painfully real one, this sacrifice of toil, physically as well as mentally; it meant oftener than one cares to think, hunger and cold, footsore days and sleepless nights. And yet one never felt this in listening to Dr. Carmichael's own account of his travels; he cast over them a glamour which made one long to seize the crook and to take to the road that same evening. The very names he mentioned made one's blood tingle. 'I have come from Gress, round by Tolasta to the south and Tolasta to the north, taking a look at the ruins of the church of St. Aula at Gress, and at the ruins of the fort of Dunothail, and then across the moorland.' Or, 'Passing through the great Ford of Uist, I had another look, for love of the old days, at St. Michael's Oratory in Grimsay, then went on to Carinish, and stood for a while in the Temple of the Trinity, and would have crossed over to the Temple of Christ in Balishare, had the tide per-

mitted.' Or, 'There are still dear good people in Moidart, who have not forgotten the ways and the thoughts of the fathers. Sailing up Loch Shiel, I saluted St. Finnan's Isle in the passing, and in due time got as far as Morar. I met an aged Knoydart woman there who has much lore. A beautiful woman.' And once more, 'These strands are dear to me, the Strand of St. Barr in Barra, the Strand of St. Michael in South Uist, the Strand of St. Mary in North Uist, and the Strand of St. Clement in Harris.' Our folk could always make poems out of names; dreams, too, when in exile; both in the one and in the other our interpreter followed the blood.

Of Sir Walter Scott Cardinal Newman said that he had set 'before them visions which, when once seen, were not easily forgotten.' Many of us can say the same of Dr. Alexander Carmichael. He has filled our heart with dreams, and our ear with a strangely familiar music. We ask ourselves:—

'Who is she, the melodious lady-lord,
At the base of the knoll,
At the mouth of the wave?'

And the folk-heart in us says:—

'From Erin she travelled,
For Lochlann is bound,
May the Trinity travel with her
Whithersoever she goes—
Whithersoever she goes.'

Again and again, too, we get vivid glimpses of people whose faces we recognise, even though it be what is called in Gaelic *aithne gun chuimhne*, recognition without remembrance. These, for instance, 'But Mary Macrae heeded not, and went on in her own way, singing her songs and ballads, intoning her hymns and incantations, and chanting her own "port-a-bial," mouth-music, and dancing to her own shadow, when nothing better was available.'—'Being then but a child he could not follow the meaning of this lore, but he thought many times since that much of it must

have been about the wild beliefs and practices of his people of the long, long ago, and perhaps not so long ago either. Many of the poems and stories were long and weird, and he could only remember fragments, which came up to him as he lay awake, thinking of the present and the past, and of the contrast between the two, even in his own time.'— 'Birds and beasts, reptiles and insects, whales and fishes, talked and acted through her in the most amusing manner, and in the most idiomatic Gaelic. Her stories had a charm for children, and it was delightful to see a small cluster of little ones pressing round the narrator, all eyes, all ears, all mouth, and all attention, listening to what the bear said to the bee, the fox to the lamb, the harrier to the hen, the serpent to the pipit, the whale to the herring, and the brown otter of the stream to the silvery grilse of the current. Those fair young heads, now, alas! widely apart, probably remember some of the stories heard at Janet Campbell's knee better than those they afterwards heard in more formal schools.' Such pictures reveal to us, as in a flash, the men and women of old Gaeldom, with their humour and their pathos, their wistfulness and their tenderness. And hardly less human or interesting are the beasts and the birds of *Carmina Gadelica*—the swan, the teal, the grey crow, the fox, even the humble beetle. They are all of our race, and can talk and laugh, jest and moralise, with the best of us. For genuine Gaelic humour it would be difficult to get anything better than, for instance, the story of the oyster-catcher and the grey crow in the introduction to *The Genealogy of Bride*. How real, too, Dr. Carmichael makes the old Gaelic festivals to us—St. Michael's, St. Bride's, St. Columba's; here with a wealth of detail, there with a few deft touches. Fortunately for one's consistency, one does not need to choose between the secular and the sacred in *Carmina Gadelica*, for they are so intertwined as to be not really two but one. And what a world that is into which the master guide leads us! so intensely human, yet so frankly superhuman; so one-racial yet so

all-racial; so wildly primitive, yet so beautifully cultured and gentle; its head always on earth, its heart always in heaven. Who can set a limit to the influence of such a work? We know that by his writings Alexander Carmichael contributed largely to the passing of the Crofters Act, the *magna charta*, economically, of the modern Gael; reading those same writings, and others by that same man, our children will, perhaps, dream dreams and see visions in the croftland, and dreaming and seeing add another verse to the unfinished song.

We all in our measure appreciate the runes and the poems of *Carmina Gadelica*, but we can never love them or appreciate them as Dr. Carmichael himself did. They were part of his being—the very heart and soul of him. Some of us have spent memorable evenings in his study, and have seen the glow on his face, and have heard the break in his voice, as he intoned poem after poem, or the same poem time after time, utterly regardless of the world which eats and drinks and counts time. And if the fire went out, as it always did, or if the daylight faded, as it could not help doing, the doctor would throw a bundle of sticks into the grate, set them ablaze, and then, drawing on his marvellous memory, go on rolling out, in the fine baritone voice so much admired by musicians, haunting lines and verses from the poems, until, from sheer emotion, he had to stop, after which one heard soft quavers: 'The dear people! the dear people!' It was at such times one understood whence *Carmina Gadelica*, whence its dialect, whence its sumptuousness. He had thought of writing the poems in the recognised literary form; he so wrote out several, but to his sensitive ear the music had quite gone out of them. The explanation is a simple one. Many of the hymns were sung to a strangely beautiful kind of music which is now becoming known through the labours of Mrs. Kennedy Fraser, some were intoned, and some recited in a curiously rhythmic monotone, and as genuine singing must always be a compromise between the music

and the language, the folk often changed (not always unconsciously) the form and the sound of words, for the sake of beauty of utterance in singing or intoning. Thus many of the unusual forms in *Carmina Gadelica* are simply words worn and polished by the sea of music, and were reproduced by Dr. Carmichael, partly out of loyalty to the men and women who had so chanted and crooned them, but chiefly owing to the loss of musical sound when standard spelling and pronunciation were attempted. To the intensity of his admiration for the folk must also be credited the sumptuousness of *Carmina Gadelica*—the quality of the paper, the beauty of the lettering, the stateliness of the whole. The richness of the volumes was really his estimate of the folk whose ways and thoughts the volumes enshrined. A gem of the first water, come down as an heirloom from the fathers—such was his conviction; it must have a setting worthy of its value and of its associations—such was his determination. These considerations induced him to abandon his original intention of issuing the work at the price of a very few shillings. It was a characteristically beautiful thing to do, and we may well be grateful that he did it; none the less grateful though we express the hope that sooner rather than later, the treasures of the book may be brought within easy reach of all who love the beautiful and the good. Such was Dr. Carmichael's own wish and intention.

One would fain go on writing about the life and the work of the most fascinating character some of us have ever known—so stately in person and in manner, so tender in heart, so constant in purpose, so passionately devoted to a cause. For us he has done a great work, although his own verdict was, 'Say, rather, that the people have done a great work for Alexander Carmichael.' Let the two, however, live side by side—one in blood and in fame. He was happy in his life—surrounded by ones who helped to make even labour and sacrifice sweet for him throughout the years; he was peaceful in his end—his last act, too

sacred to mention, beautiful for tenderness and thoughtfulness. As we laid him in rest, we sang a psalm of thanksgiving,[1] not of affliction. And one who loved him said 'Never in my life have I felt so proud; he lived such a magnificently honourable life—the grave in Lismore is but an incident in it—something due to his ancestors and to his own island.' And yet, as we think of Gaeldom, another thought creeps in and makes us forget all else—the thought of the disciple who loved St. Columba: 'Cold and empty the church to-day—*he* is not at the altar.'

THE LITERATURE OF THE SCOTTISH GAEL

Rev. Donald Maclean (Edinburgh)

(*Continued from p.* 74, vol. viii.)

III

1830-1912

From 1830 there has issued from the printing houses in Scotland and Canada a steady stream of Gaelic literature which, though in comparison with the output of English literature it is as a mountain rivulet to a mighty river, varies in quality, expression and tone as much as the sounds of the rushing burn among the jagged rocks differs from its mellow plash upon the polished flags. In the intervening decades the output of Gaelic books, reprints and editions was approximately as follows:—from 1830 to 1840, 106 volumes; from 1840 to 1850, 164 volumes; 1850 to 1860, 115 volumes; 1860 to 1870, 142 volumes; 1870 to 1880, 169 volumes; 1880 to 1890, 98 volumes; 1890 to 1900, 111 volumes; 1900 to 1912, 80 volumes. This literature takes to some extent its colour from certain epochs in the life of the people, such as the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, the passing of the Education Act, the founding

[1] Ps. ciii., first four verses (in Gaelic) to the tune 'Coleshill.'

of a Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh, the renaissance following the inauguration of An Comunn Gaidhealach and its Mòd, and certain industrial movements affecting the social life of the community, such as the traversing of the country with railway lines. Literature which deals with human affairs generally chronicles events and problems, and essays to discuss, interpret and solve these. This is particularly true of the literature that gathers round the Church, there being the relatively large number of thirty volumes in this category, apart entirely from religious books which came into existence as a result of this movement. In this special literature incidents are recorded and questions affecting opposing interests are discussed, visualising protagonists in the controversy, and emphasising the importance and significance of the points in the disputes from the viewpoint of the various writers. First we hear the sound of battle unmistakably, but in the later literature we have merely the echoes of the battle sound, while the spirit of controversy itself seems to move more gently under the restraining influences of changed times.

The passing of the Education Act brought a great change over educational affairs in the Highlands. The schools of the Churches gave place to the schools of the public. This transformation from the old order of things, when the Gaelic language was a commoner medium of instruction than it became after 1872, did not, however, adversely affect the output of Gaelic literature, as is shown by the striking fact that in the decade between 1870 and 1880 we have a larger output of Gaelic books than in any period of the same duration in the history of Gaelic printed literature. An analysis of the books which appeared during this decade also affords reasons to assume that the stimulus given to general education had an indirect influence other than adverse upon Gaelic literature; but as affecting the spoken language, the question of how largely it was ignored finds sufficient answer in the experiences

of those who were taught in schools, where prejudice against the Gaelic tongue arose from the ignorance of the teacher of its value as a means of culture.

Unquestionably when Professor Blackie had succeeded in endowing in the University of Edinburgh the Celtic Chair which has been so honourably occupied by Professor Mackinnon, Gaelic language and literature began to be approached with the scientific method which had characterised the study of other languages. This academic study of the spoken speech helped to destroy old prejudices against the language, and fired the sons of the Highlands with a new enthusiasm for their native tongue. The ministry of the Highlands, who more than any others make use of the speech as a medium of instruction, have, as a result of the facilities offered by the University of Edinburgh, ceased from being linguistic illiterates in regard to their own language; and the eighteenth century minister of Applecross, who required his precentor to read for him his Psalms, has no present day counterpart. To this source is to be traced, too, the numerous scientific studies in Gaelic which have appeared in publications of varied forms and sizes, and which indicate the precision and certainty of higher culture and scientific knowledge. Notable among such publications is the revised version of the Gaelic Bible.

It is too soon yet to trace the influence of An Comunn Gaidhealach and its Mòd on Gaelic writings, although there is a disquieting decrease in the output of Gaelic books since 1900. The depressing effect of this discovery is counteracted by the undoubted fact that the quality of the literature is of a much higher order. Many of the writings of the nineteenth century were ephemeral, and, as contributions to the literature of the people, were of no real importance. The output now is generally otherwise, and has about it the elements that guarantee permanence. The Comunn with the liveliness of their enthusiasm have already stirred up the people in many parts of the country

to an appreciation of their own speech, and this revival of interest will undoubtedly have the effect of preserving, not merely what remains, but of encouraging such a close study of the language as has been formerly very largely a feature of foreign scholarship alone. The opening up of the Highlands by railways has had its own effect in introducing, as it did, the southern speech, and in the commingling of two languages so wide apart, with a resultant patois which is neither pleasing nor elegant. With this also has come lessened interest in reading the Gaelic language.

The beginning of the period under review ushered in the dawn of the golden age of Gaelic prose. When Campbell published the *Tales of the West Highlands* (1860-62), he gave us stories of the past with which the dull monotony of life, on the marge of the sighing seas and in the hollows between the sullen hills, was relieved. The stories are written from oral recitation, and are valuable, not merely as records of the distant past, but as preserving for us idioms and phraseology used by the common people, thus affording a mine of immense value to the linguistic folklorist. Earlier than Campbell is Lachlan Maclean's *Adam and Eve* (1837), a book which is of infinitely greater value for its idioms and excellent style than for its conclusions. Maclean was full of delicious humour, and approached the question of deciding the relative antiquity of Gaelic and Hebrew with some knowledge of both languages, and arrived at his conclusion in favour of the seniority of Gaelic, by a process of reasoning which need not be described but which, nevertheless, is presented to the reader in exquisite Gaelic. The Rev. Angus Mackenzie, a probationer of the Free Church, published in 1867 the *History of Scotland*, which is but a translation of Mackenzie's history with the same title. The translation is that of an exact and competent writer with full command of expressive and idiomatic Gaelic. We have later the *Folk Tales and Fairy Tales* of Rev. James Macdougall of Duror (1910), written in easy and flowing diction. But greater than any of these

is Mr. Donald MacKechnie (1836-1908), whose book *Am Fear Ciuil*, published in 1904 and 1910, furnishes us with perhaps the most terse and crisp examples of prosody in the language. He is a master of the mechanism of lucid writing, and has applied the exactitude of modern knowledge of the Gaelic language to the reproduction of common incidents and events in life with a humour that saves exactness from being pedantic or dry. But our great mine of modern prose consists of the following periodicals :—

Periodicals.—The Rose of the Field, 1803; The Highland Messenger (24 Nos.), 1829-30; The New Messenger, 1835-6; Cuairtear nan Gleann (40 Nos.), 1840-3; Cuairtear nan Coillte (Ontario), 1840; The Witness (An Fhianuis, 36 Nos.), 1845-50; The Satirist, 1845; Teachdaire nan Gaidheal, 1844; The Mountain Visitor (25 Nos.), 1846-50; Caraid nan Gael (5 Nos.), 1844; Caraid nan Gaidheal (Inverness), 1853; An t-Aoidh Miosail, 1847-8; The Gael, 1871-7; An Cuairtear Og Gaidhealach (Antigonish), 1851; The Celtic Magazine, 1876-88; The Banner of Truth, 1872-4; Free Church of Scotland Quarterly, 1875-93; The Witness, 1893-1906; Free Presbyterian Magazine (bilingual) from 1893; Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record (bilingual) from 1900; Cuairtear na Coillte, 1881; Monthly Visitor, 1858; Gaelic Supplement to Life and Work; The Highlander (6 Nos.), 1881-82; The Highland Monthly (Inverness, 51 Nos.), 1889; and at Oban, 1885; Mac Talla (Sydney C. B.), 1892; Scottish Celtic Review (4 Nos.), 1881; Celtic Review from July 1904; Guth na Bliadhna, 1904; An Deo Greine from Oct. 1905; An Sgeulaiche, 1909; and the short-lived Gaelic newspaper Alba. Colums of Gaelic matter appear regularly also in the Oban Times, The Northern Chronicle, The Highland News, and occasionally in The People's Journal.

Dr. Norman Macleod, who gathered around him valuable coadjutors in many of these periodicals, is looked upon by many as the father of modern prose. Lacking the finished equipment of the present-day writer, Macleod had certainly

the faculty, like his contemporary novelists, of transfiguring the life of the common people in all its pathos and joy, in its unsophisticated simplicity, and in its clinging tenacity to the receding past. His dialogues in this connection are inimitable, and while it is necessary to make allowance for the unsuppressable enthusiasm of Professor Blackie, the Greek scholar has a right to be listened to when he says that these Dialogues are 'marked by the dramatic grace of Plato and the shrewd humour of Lucian'; and again—'which for graceful simplicity and profound pathos is second to nothing that I know in any language, unless indeed it be the account of the death of Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*, and some well-known chapters in the Gospel of St. John.'[1]

Dr. Mackintosh Mackay (1793-1873) moves with grave and stately majesty, as he discourses in the *Fianuis* on the ecclesiastical problems of his day. Dugald Macphail (1819-1887), better known by his pen name 'Muileach,' was a poet of repute as well as an elegant prose writer, whose smooth and flowing sentences appealed to the most fastidious critic. Mrs. M'Kellar (1834-1890), although she lacked spontaneity, could express herself with vigour, and fluently, both in prose and poetry. Rev. James Macdougall, Duror, writes in a smooth and flexible style. Sheriff Nicolson (1827-1893) enriched the literature of the Highlands by his enlarged edition (1881) of that quintessence of Highland wisdom and wit, the *Proverbs*, compiled by Mackintosh. The accurate knowledge of the brilliant Sheriff manifested itself in the pages of a book that has made him the benefactor of all students of Highland character. In the published sermons of the Rev. John Macalister, we have the irritating peculiarities of the dialects and idioms of Arran in unrelieved faithfulness. Among the translators of English prose, none has laboured with more painstaking industry than Alexander Macdougall of Glenurquhart. In the upper reaches of that Strath

[1] *Language and Literature of the Highlands of Scotland*, pp. 315, 329.

this teacher spent his evenings, summer and winter alike, in translating the works of Dr. John Owen. The translations are as severely accurate and unbending as the theology of the famous Puritan. The fruit of his industry appears only in part in the three volumes published, viz. *Communion of the Saints* (1876), *The Person of Christ* (1884), and *Psalm 130* (1896), for, alas, an apathetic people have enforced the confinement of the larger portion of his work to the manuscript over which this tireless student toiled unremittingly, and all for love of Gaelic and theology. For the same reason a splendid translation of a portion of Dr. John Brown's Bible by the Rev. Alexander M'Coll of Lochalsh still remains hidden in the pages of an unpublished manuscript. Among living prose writers and translators of prose there are not a few whose efforts merit praise.

Professor Mackinnon has concluded, and few will venture to differ from him, that the four masters of Gaelic prose style are—Drs. John and Norman Macleod, Lachlan Maclean, and Donald Mackechnie. An example of the prose with translation of the last three of these writers is now given :—

'Bheachdaich mi gu h-araidh air aon duine dall, aosmhor a bha 'n a shuidhe air leth, a's triuir no ceathrar de chloinn ghillean mu'n caiurt da, a sheana ghairdeanan thairis orra, iad a' feuchainn co 'bu dluithe a gheibheadh a stigh r'a uchd, a cheann crom os an ceann, 'fhalt liath agus an cuaileanan dualach donna-san ag amaladh 'n a cheile, agus a dheoir gu trom, frasach a' tuiteam thairia orra, Dluth dha aig a chasaibh bha bean thlachdmhor 'n a suidhe ag osnaich gu trom ann an iomaguin broin ; agus thuig mi gu 'm b'e a fear-posda a bha 'spaisdearachd air ais agus air aghart le ceum goirid agus le lamhan paisgte. Bha sealladh a shul luaineach neo-shuidhichte, agus 'aghaidh bhuairte ag innseadh gu soilleir nach robh sith 'n a inntinn. Tharruing mi dluth do'n t'seann-duine, agus dh' fheoraich mi dheth ann an caoimhneas cainnt, an robh esan ann am feasgar a laithean a' dol a dh-fhagail a dhuthcha ? 'Mise,' deir esan, 'a dol thairis ! cha 'n 'eil ! Air imrich cha teid mis gus an tig an imrich a tha 'feitheamh oirnn air fad ; agus an uair a thig, co an sin a theid fo m' cheann do'n Chill ? Dh 'fhalbh sibh ! dh 'fhalbh sibh ! dh'fhagadh mise 'm aonar an diugh gu dall

aosda, bhrathair, gun mhac, gun chultaice ; agus an diugh—la mo dhunach, Dia 'thoirt maitheanais domh—tha thusa, 'Mhairi, mo nighean, m'aon duine cloinne, le m' oghachan geala, gaolach, a' dol ga m' fhagail.' (Dr. Norman Macleod, *An Gaidheal*, iii. Leabh 294).

Professor Blackie's translation :—

'My attention was specially drawn to one old man, old and blind, who was sitting apart from the rest with three or four little boys round about him, his old arms stretching over them, while they were trying to come as near as possible to his breast, his head bending over their heads, his long grey hair and their curly brown locks loosely mingling together, and the big tears rolling down his cheeks. Near him, close to his feet, was a handsome woman, sitting and sobbing as under some heavy affliction ; and I guessed that it was her husband who was walking up and down with a short hurried step and his hands folded. His eye had a wild and unsettled look, and the disturbed expression of his countenance showed plainly how little peace there was in his mind. I drew near to the old man, and asked him in a gentle voice if he, in the evening of his days, was going to leave his native country. "I," he said, "emigrate ! Not I. I shall not move from my earthly home till I go to that land to which we must all go some day ; and when my hour comes to go who is there now that will put his shoulder under my head and help to carry me to my last resting-place ? Ye are gone ! Ye are gone ! and I am left alone, blind and old, without brother, without son, without stay or support ; and to-day—day of my sorrow ! God forgive me,—you, Mary, my daughter, my only child, with my dear, beautiful, bright-eyed grandchildren, you are going to leave me !"'

From Lachlan Maclean's *Adam and Eve*:—

'Tha an obair so air do shonsa, a Ghael fhialaidh a chridhe dhirich—thusa aig am bheil eolas air an t-sinnsireachd chliutaich ris am bheil do dhaimh—air na blaraibh a chuir iad—na buaidhibh a thug iad—agus an cliu a choisinn iad anns na laithibh a dh'fhalbh —air mar chriothnaich rioghachdan an domhain roimh gharbh thairnein an airm, agus a gheill iad le urram do ghliocas an comhairle !—mar chunnaic eirigh na greine greadhnachas an cuirtean rioghail, 'sa rinn Mactalla gairdeachas ri ard chaithream am feachd —tha an obair so air do shonsa.

'Ma bheir i riarachadh dhuitse cha do chaill an t-ughdar a

shaothair, agus cha'n'eil e 'g iarraidh ort diog a chreidsinn nach do chreid e fein romhad—oir, theid e gu bas le dearbh-bheachd gu'm b' i Ghaelig a cheud chanain, agus an lan dochas gur h-i bheir buaidh anns an t-saoghall thall.

'Aon fhocal, agus 'se so e: gabh lethsgeul mearachdan a chlobhualaidh, tha iad lionmhor: gabh lethsgeul laigse an ughdair, tha i mor; agus O! cuir air an athair cheart i, oir cha robh lamh riamh no corrag m'an obair a leanas ach an lamh so.'

Translation:—

'This work is for you, generous and upright Gael—you who know the illustrious progenitors from whom you have sprung—the battles they fought, the victories they had achieved, and the praises they had won in the days gone by—how the nations of the world disappeared before the thunders of their arms, and how, too, they yielded to the wisdom of their counsel—how the rising sun beheld the excellence of their royal courts, and Echo rejoiced at the resonant tramp of their hosts—this work is for you.

'If it will please you, the author has not laboured in vain, and he does not ask you to believe a syllable which he does not believe himself, for he will die convinced that Gaelic was the first language, and fully persuaded that it will prevail in the other world.

'One word, and it is this—excuse the mistakes of the press, they are many—excuse the defect of the author, for it is great, and oh! father it on the proper person, for no hand nor finger but this touched the work that follows.'

From Donald Mackechnie's *Am Fear-Ciuil*:—

'Latha de na laithean, thainig e (an cat) steach's eun 'na bheul, s' e 'g a leigeil fhaicinn do gach neach a bha mu 'n cuairt. 'Nuair a thainig e far an robh mise rug mi air, 's dh' innis mi dha nach robh mi idir buidheach dheth; nach b'i sin an seorsa sithinn a bha dhith ormsa; 's a bharrachd air sin, gu robh Achd Parlamaid an aghaidh a bhi marbhadh eun as eugmhais cead laghail air a shon; 's na faicinn-sa a leithid so de sheilg a rithist, gu'n cuirinn maoir is madaidh a' bhaile 'na dheigh. "Fhaic thu," arsa mise, 's mi crathadh mo chorraig r'a shroin, "b'fhearr leamsa eisdeachd ri ceilear an eoin bhig sin fad choig mionaidean, na ged bhiodh tusa 's, do chompanaich a' seinn domh fad choig raidhean." Tha amharus agam nach do leig Tomas dheth, uile gu leir, a bhi sealg nan eun, ach thuig e, maith gu leoir, nach robh cliu aige ri fhaotainn air a shon, 's leig e dheth a bhi toirt dachaidh na cairbh.'

Translation:—

'One day he (Thomas, the cat) came in with a bird in his mouth, showing it to all who were about. When he came to me, I caught him and told him that I was not by any means pleased with him; that such was not the kind of venison I wished for; and more than that, an Act of Parliament prohibited the killing of birds without legal permission; and if I should again see such a hunting trophy I would set the town officers and dogs after him. "Observe you," I remarked, shaking my finger before his nose, "I would prefer five minutes of that little bird's singing to a year and a quarter of your caterwauling and that of your companions." I suspect that Thomas did not entirely cease from hunting birds, but he understood perfectly well that he would not curry favour by persisting, so he discontinued carrying home the spoil.'

In the branch of the literature that bears on the scientific study of the language, vast progress has been made during the decades under review. The grammars of James Munro and Stewart were good. Dr. Maclauchlan's enlargement of Stewart's was an improvement, and later we have a competent grammar by Reid, and helpful guides to the study of the language from L. Macbean and Macbain and Whyte. Dictionaries have also increased. There is one among them which deserves recognition, were it only for the herculean labour involved in its production. Ewen Macdonald, whose real name is Edward Dwelly, an Englishman, has finished, after thirty years of arduous toil, a Dictionary of three volumes, containing one thousand pages and over eighty thousand words—a Dictionary of which he was author, compositor, illustrator, and publisher, and in each department of the work the result reflects the greatest credit on him. The story of this work reads like a romance.

As far back as 1872, Professor William Geddes, afterwards Principal Sir W. Geddes of Aberdeen University, in an address to the Celtic Society of that University, which was published in the same year, on the 'Philologic Uses and Advantages of a Knowledge of the Celtic Tongue,'

arraigns the Scottish students for their neglect of the study of the Gaelic language, particularly in the branch of comparative Philology :—

'The Celtic is now duly installed in what may be called the hierarchy of Aryan tongues. Pritchard, in his work on the Eastern origin of the Celtic nations, established the affinity. Pictet, of Geneva, has done much in the same direction ; but the work has been fully performed by four Germans—Bopp, Zeuss, Ebel, and Schleicher. A fifth might be added, Dieffenbach, whose works contain a mine of historic facts as to the Celtic races. To match against these four Germans we have only one, or it may be two, worthy of being conjoined in the same rank, and the French another ; and yet the Germans have not in the Fatherland a single Celtic-speaking village ; while France and Britain have whole provinces of Celtic speech, so that here, as elsewhere, "the last are first and the first last." '

At this time, however, it should not be forgotten, that that Scottish pioneer in Philology, Rev. Alexander Cameron, LL.D. (1827-1888), of Brodick, was already busy in this field. He was a disciple and follower of Professor Windisch of Leipzig, and Dr. Whitley Stokes, though not in a slavish sense. He made precision a feature of his study, and might indeed be looked upon as almost a martyr to accuracy. He would break a lance over a comma, and in a fierce controversy with Drs. Thomas Maclauchlan and Clark, he evinced signs of his unmistakable erudition which, in the light of later scholarship, proved him to be far ahead of his opponents in the linguistic controversy. In the monumental work *Reliquiæ Celticæ* (1892-94), and in the *Scottish Celtic Review*, to which he was himself chief contributor, there are abundant proofs of the industry and scholarship of one who was the first in this country to trace scientifically the origin and history of the language. Following upon him came Dr. Alexander MacBain, a scholar of high repute, whose Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language of 1896 (second edition 1911) compressed Continental and British researches in this field into a Dictionary

which is the first of its kind in the language, and which opens up a new era.

Dr. W. J. Watson of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, has applied himself with conspicuous success in the same field of philology, in an effort to elucidate the meanings of place-names in the country. His book, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (1894), is a valuable contribution, inasmuch as it unfolds not merely the history of the words, but the history of the community, ecclesiastically and socially, that lived around the places that are so named.

At the beginning of the Victorian era, the religious poets were still singing on congenial themes. Among the most outstanding poets of the period was unquestionably John Morison, blacksmith, preacher, and poet of Harris. An untutored metaphysician and psychologist, he probed life and conduct with the sharp instrument of a keen intellect, and gave expression to his subtle thoughts in poems of prodigal fulness. There is a remarkable blending of idiom and thought, a wonderful weaving and winding of expression, in all the works of this imaginative genius, that rightly entitle him to a high rank among Gaelic sacred bards. In the 'Ark,' the 'Young and Old Man,' and that gem of Gaelic poetry 'Ionndruinn,' we have presented to us grand movements of the soul and intellect of a man who moved in the mysteries of faith with courage and sincerity. The echoes of pulpit mysticism are found in the written language of this troubled soul. The 'Ionndruinn' has been compared to Newman's 'Lead, Kindly Light.' Souls very far apart and moving in very different directions, had this at least in common—that yearning and longing for a peace that still lay outwith their religious experience. This is a translation of verses of the 'Ionndruinn,' by the late Dr. George Henderson :—

'When, as I did refrain for long,
Age smote my bones and sorely;
Age smote my song with silent wrong,
Age smote me long and lowly:

Not as of yore, in weakness strong,
Time but prolongs my story—
Grief and death's bond to me belong,
Save Heavenly Son restore me.

My heavy heart adds to my smart,
Like to a hart when wounded;
My steps abound, but still I start,
And fall athwart confounded:
Though all around I seek the High'st,
No one is nigh or round me,
To smite sweet chords upon my lyre
And so in sighs I'm grounded.
. . . . .
Each hour and hour I weep and grieve,
And fret in melancholy,
That sin and folly do deceive
And oft bereave me wholly
Of Thee, though lovingly I'd wreathe
My sins with leaves of holly,
Till songs I'd weave and sunlight breathe
The dew beneath the olive.'

Dr. John Macdonald of Ferintosh, the famous Apostle of the North, was also a poet of repute. Meditative, hortative, and didactic, his poetry moves on with easy expression and pleasing melody. Evangelical teachings, of which he was a master, are translated to the people in phrases which have become popular. Perhaps the best known of all his poems is the 'Christian,' whose fine consolatory notes have been often the means of conveying much comfort to Zion's pilgrims. The following examples are from a translation by Rev. Professor John Macleod, M.A., of Edinburgh:—

''Twas their hope and living faith that led them to confess on earth
That they were unwelcome strangers in the world that gave them birth;
For they sought a better country and a heritage divine,
And with joyful soul they saw from off the hills its glory shine.

Little wonder though the flesh should tremble as it nears the shore
Of the Jordan while the darkness groweth lonesome more and more;
For before me is the ocean without bank or further side,
Everlasting and unmeasured by the sun or flowing tide.

Close the tie is and mysterious that has ever bound in one
Soul and body: yes, the knot is one that 's hard to be undone.
But the time will come when death shall loosen it, and then the tomb
Shall its share have, for the tenant leaves behind his earthly home.'

(*The Christian on the Banks of Jordan.*)

'But the blessings of the land how can I ever tell them o'er?
For 'tis full to overflowing with its milk and honey store;
And the Lord's own kindly eye is on it all throughout the year,
And the folk that live therein are satisfied with endless cheer.

Its inhabitant shall never say that he is sick or sore,
Ne'er complain of desolation or of famine on its shore;
And the more his heart of evil wearied him his whole life long,
Now the greater is his gladness and the louder is his song.

Loud he 'll join with all the ransomed in their song of praise to God,
Who from everlasting loved them and eternal life bestowed;
They shall never more by Babel's waters sit with harp unstrung
But will join in song of triumph, tuneful harp, unfaltering tongue.'

(*The Christian across Jordan.*)

There were others, too, who were playing upon their harps, such as the deep and mysterious Donald Mackenzie of Assynt; Rev. Duncan Maclean of Glenorchy, whose rare bardic efforts have not received the meed of appreciation they deserve; Rev. Duncan Maccallum of Arisaig; Rev. Duncan Macdougall of Tiree; Rev. M. Macritchie of Strathy; and among the laity, poets like John Mackintosh of Strathspey; James Macbean of Inverness; George Mackay of Roster, and a number of others, who, though less known, enjoyed deserved popularity among the community where they lived. The most eminent of the elegiac writers of this period was Rev. Dr. Blair of Pictou (1815-1893), a competent linguist and an earnest preacher. His elegies on John Macmaster, Rev. John Kennedy, and Dr. Macdonald are perhaps the best in the language.

The student of religious poetry will find the cream of the sacred poetry of the Highlands during this period in collections such as the *Sacred Poetry of the North*, by John Rose (1851), and the *Collection of Hymns*, by Dr. Archibald Kelly Maccallum (1894). But reflecting an older period

than these is the monumental *Carmina Gadelica* of the late indefatigable Celtic enthusiast, Dr. Alexander Carmichael. Here are incantations and hymns of many periods, and if the lichen-covered ruins that occupy such conspicuous spots in the Highlands are silent witness-bearers to the feuds and internecine wars of a past civilisation, these hymns and incantations, embedded in many instances in archaic expressions, crystallise the beliefs of votaries of successive cults that pursued each other through the long vista of prehistoric and historic times. In this collection the student of philology, of comparative religion, and of ecclesiastical history, will find much to reward a diligent search.

Although it is commonly stated that the noontide glory of Celtic poetry had disappeared before the Victorian era, still this can be accepted only with modification. If the sunset is slow and gradual, so also is the decline of Gaelic poetry, and if in this period the poets have not drunk from the full horn as indiscriminately and unconfined as those of the post-rebellion period, we have nevertheless in the early Victorian era men of outstanding worth in this field of poetry. William Livingstone (1808-1870) was obsessed with hatred for things Saxon, and allowed his poetry to be deeply tinged with this dislike. Yet he was a poet of rare power, and manipulated the idioms of the language and the language itself to fine effect, making free use of consonantal assonance to a jingling melody. He was irritable and passionate, and is the only Gaelic poet of later times who had nothing to say of the tender passion, and he has also the distinction of being the only dramatist in the whole galaxy of Gaelic bards. He could write with moving pathos as well as with terrible fierceness. Ewen Maccoll (1808-1898), who was born in Lochfyneside, and lived in Liverpool, New York, and Toronto, had, from his varied experiences, a wider outlook on life, which is reflected in his songs. With more fancy and thought than imagination and feeling, he moves with remarkable suddenness among contrasted objects and ideas with a brilliance that

is more dazzling than pleasing. Dr. John Maclachlan (1804-1874), the physician poet of Morven, and James Munro (1794-1870) of Fort William, have also contributed to the literature poems which, for their charm, grace, and moving sentiment, are worthy of ranking with those of the former two; and among the poets of the people they are not far behind the greater masters of the previous age. Angus Macdonald of Glenurquhart (1804-1874) was a good poet as well as a magnificent singer.

John Campbell, bard of Ledaig (1823-1897), who was a sweet singer, with ardent love for happy childhood and for nature, sang with verve of the beauties of his Highland home, and Highland scenery, in many verses that are destined to continue popular with those who appreciate the grace of easy diction, and the piquant flavour of humour. Of his home in the Highlands he sang :—

Is tric mi cuimhneach air tir mo dhuthchais,
Air tir nam beanntan 's nan gleanntan urar
Air tir nan sgarnaichean arda ruisgte
Nan creagan corrach 's nan lochan dubhghorm.

Air sruthain chaisleach nan caran lubach
Ri mire 's gleadhraich feadh bhac is stucan;
No ruith gu samhach 's a ghleannan chiuin ud,
'S an doire challtuinn gu teann 'g an dunadh.

An eidheann dhuslach mar sgail-bhrat uaine
'S a' gheamhradh 's fuaire fo shnuadh a fas,
'S i dion le 'sgiathan nan ard chreag liath ud,
Mar gu'm b'e h-iarrtas an cumail blath.

An tonn ri cronan air cladach comhnard,
Le morbhan boidheach toirt ceol gu reidh,
No 'g eirigh suas dhuinn le toirm an uamhais,
'S an cath 'na chuartaig 'ga sguab do'n speur.

Sud tir a' chairdeis 's an d'fhuair mi m'arach
'S am bheil a' Ghaidhlig is aillidh fonn;
'S i thogadh m'inntinn 'nuair bhithinn tursach,
'S a dh' fhagadh sunndach mo chridhe trom.

'Dear land of my fathers, my home in the Highlands,
'Tis oft that I think of thy bonnie green glens,
Thy far-gleaming lochs and thy sheer-sided corries,
Thy dark-frowning cliffs and thy glory of Bens!

Thy wild sweeping torrents, with bound and with bicker,
That toss their white manes down the steep rocky brae;
Thy burnies that, babbling o'er beds of the granite,
Through thick copse of hazel are wimpling their way.

Thy close-clinging ivy, with fresh shining leafage,
That blooms through the winter and smiles at the storm,
And spreads its green arms o'er the hoary old castle
To bind its grey ruin and keep its heart warm.

That sweet-sounding plash of thy light-rippling billows
As they beat on the sand where the white pebbles lie,
And their thundering war when, with whirling commotion,
They lift their white crests in grim face of the sky.

The land I was born in, the land I was bred in
Where soft-sounding Gaelic falls sweet on the ear;
Dear Gaelic, whose accents take sharpness from sorrow
And fill me despairing with words of good cheer.'

Lieutenant-Colonel John Macgregor, M.D., traveller, physician and zealous Celt, has the happy faculty of breathing his sentiments in verses that rhyme sweetly. But among the later poets, Neil Macleod, the Skye bard, is easily chief. In comparison with the greater masters of poetry in the language, he occupies a place not far behind the best. It is not a paltry fastidiousness that deplores the immoral impurities that stained the achievements of these masters, but from all such Neil Macleod is as free as the clean run salmon is of the parasites of the ocean. He depicts nature with idyllic beauty. A gentleness of spirit suffuses the whole, and gives that touch of indescribable attractiveness to his poetry which always fascinates. His verses have the grace of easy diction, and the charm of forcible simplicity. Whether describing the glen, the wood, or humorously depicting the frailties of the old maid, he is always pure and clear as the limpid

waters of the stream, and free from any form of vindictiveness or cruel raillery. Among the poets he is the only one who saw the fourth edition of his published works. This alone sufficiently emphasises the impression he has made upon his race, and future critics of Gaelic poetry will doubtless endorse the judgment of his own generation.

Collectors of Highland poetry have been busy following the example of collectors of a former period, and as far back as 1841 John Mackenzie of Gairloch produced his *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry.* Although it has been alleged, and that correctly, that he gives only eight poems which were not previously published, he nevertheless deserves praise for his success within the limits of his knowledge, and for the amount of light he has thrown upon the lives of the poets with whom he deals. Mr. Archibald Sinclair with *An t-Oranaiche* (1876-7-8-9) places the Highlander under a debt of gratitude for accumulating poems that would probably have disappeared from view. The industrious Canadian historian and genealogist, Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, has laboured successfully in this field also, and published collections of real value in 1890,1892, 1896, 1898, and 1900. Mr. M. C. Macleod issued in 1908 his *Collection of Modern Gaelic Bards.* It has a value all its own as having gathered in handy form the verses of the living and recently deceased bards. Revs. A. Macdonald of Kiltarlity and Killearnan in their massive book of *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* have given us the toil of many years of skilful gleaning in the field of Highland poetry. Although the poets here are not all of the Clan Donald, and though we have here many poems already published, still the variants as well as the numerous meritorious songs of little-known poets invest this collection with special value. A unique contribution to the literature is Miss Frances Tolmie's collection of Folk Songs in the Journal of the Folk Song Society, December 1911, whose great value is appropriately expressed in the words of the learned editor of that journal: 'It opens a mine of interest and delight to

musicians, poets, folklorists and historians, and undoubtedly forms one of the most important contributions yet made towards the preservation of the purely traditional music and poetry of our British Isles in general, and of Scotland in particular.'

Mr. Kenneth Macleod has contributed considerably to the *Celtic Review* and other periodicals and books. To him is largely due, from a literary standpoint, the value of *The Songs of the Hebrides*. He is a true collector and folklorist, and at the same time a writer of original Gaelic prose and verse of great excellence. Of him much is expected.

There have been many translators of Gaelic poetry at work, including Blackie, Shairp, Nicolson, Pattison, Buchanan, MacNeil, White, MacBean, Macfarlane and others; and Dr. Dugald Mitchell's *Book of Highland Verse* (1912) is a splendid anthology of such translations, and of English verses relating to the Highlands.

In 1832 Reid, the bibliographer, wrote: 'Ere half a century elapses, it [the Gaelic] will have shared the fate of the Waldensian and the Cornish and have become subject of history alone.' Three-quarters of a century have passed, and the language is still vigorous and the prophecy false. In 1903, Professor Magnus Maclean [1] saw the near disappearance of the bards in oblivion, but the efforts of living poets rob these sad forebodings of their immediate realisation. The end is not yet, nor within sight, and the bards will continue interpreting and describing. For, while the north wind sighs in the birch tree as of yore, and the cotton flower jauntily tosses its stainless white head in the moorland breeze that wafts the myrtle's stimulating fragrance, why should not the spirit of poetry continue to express itself in the mournful dirge, in the innocence of happy purity, and in refreshing melody?

The literature reviewed has been issued to the world from centres so far removed as Geelong in Australia, Antigonish and Toronto in Canada, and Aberdeen, Tain and

[1] *The Literature of the Highlands*, p. 205.

Wick in Scotland, but the greater part was published in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness, yet there is scarcely a publishing centre in the country from which some has not been issued. This literature, although not very large, has a deep interest of its own for students of the language and for patriots. It was produced against many prejudices and in the midst of numerous difficulties—difficulties which cannot be better illustrated than by this translated extract from a prefatory note to the spiritual songs of William Gordon, a soldier in the Reay Fencibles, published in 1802: 'When you are reading the verses that follow, remember that I had no place in which to write or study them, but the barrack and among my fellow-soldiers. The only time I applied to them was the time between parades. I did not cease from the duties I had to perform as a soldier. No wonder then though there should be mistakes in my work.' In this literature can be found what Matthew Arnold called 'the lineaments of the Celtic genius.' It is the key to the heart of the Highlander, to the mysticism of his life, to his devoutness and religious conservatism, and to those peculiar features of his character which form a phenomenon almost unintelligible to the foreigner. The grand songs of the people's poets, whether secular or sacred, have percolated through all countries where the wandering children of the Gael have pitched their tents. In village and in clachan, on the seaboards at home and the outer extremities of this mighty Empire, in the prairies of America, these songs have cheered the heart of many a pilgrim. On the verandah in an Australian homestead, a Skye man conjures up the scenes of his happy childhood, as he sings :—

'When the simmer bricht returnin'
Decks each grove and budding tree,
When the birds amang the branches
Are a' pipin' loud and free;
And the bairnies fu' o' glee
Pu' the roses in the den,
O! 'twere delight tae wander
In my bonnie native glen.

In my bonnie native glen,
In my bonnie native glen,
O! 'twere dear delight tae wander
In my bonnie native glen.

At the early peep o' mornin',
When the grass was wat wi' dew,
Amang the woods o' hazel
Gaily sang the shy cuckoo;
An' the calves clean daft wi' joy
Gaed a' friskin' roun' the pen;
Now we 've nae sic scenes o' gladness
In my bonnie native glen.'

I saw a copy of Alexander Macdonald's poetry that did duty at the mines of Ballarat and Johannesburg. An old lady in the sub-tropics of Australia rehearsed in my hearing verse after verse of Dugald Buchanan's poems, transporting herself in the very act to the happy days of childhood, round the peat fire in far-away Lochabar. These songs have been sung by the shepherds on the lonely moors, and by the fishermen on the rolling deep. From lip to lip they have been wafted across hill and dale from one generation to another. The intensity of their feeling has fired the spirit of many a forlorn Gael. This literature deserves to be studied. No student of the language can speak with authority who has not dipped deeply into this treasure; and the future historian who will portray Highland life or character in its many vicissitudes, in its depression and in its joy, will fail to do so accurately unless he studies diligently the literature of the Scottish Gael.

GILDAS AND ARTHUR

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The date given by Gildas for the battle of Badon is the only contemporary evidence we have of the time of Arthur's reign: this battle is named in the *Historia Brittonum*

[1] This paper has been written during tenure of a Carnegie Research Fellowship.

(written a century and a half or three centuries later) as the twelfth of Arthur's victories.

These are Gildas's words (*De Excidio Britanniae*, chs. xxv.-xxvi.; Mommsen's edition, p. 40):—

'Tempore igitur interveniente aliquanto, cum recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones, . . . reliquiae . . . miserrimi cives, . . . duce Ambrosio Aureliano, . . . (cujus nunc temporibus nostris suboles magnopere avita bonitate degeneravit), vires capessunt, victores provocantes ad praelium: quis victoria domino annuente cessit.

[26. *De postrema patriae victoria quae temporibus nostris dei nutu donata est.*]

'Ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant, . . . usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, novissimaeque ferme de furciferis non minimae stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus ut novi orditur (*v.l.* oritur) annus, mense jam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est. Sed ne nunc quidem, ut antea, civitates patriae inhabitantur. . . .'

Bede seems to have understood this passage to mean that the battle was fought 'about the 44th year from the arrival of [the Saxons] in Britain' (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. 16). The Rev. C. Plummer (Bede, ii. 31) suggests that this might have been a different computation, rather than a misunderstanding of Gildas's text; it would be possible for both computations to have been correct. But Bede is certainly quoting from Gildas. The version which Bede used may have been glossed or altered.[1]

It has been generally accepted that in this passage Gildas says he was born in the year of the battle of Badon, and wrote in the forty-fourth year afterwards. The Rev. C. Plummer says: 'The present tense, "*oritur*," shows that Gildas refers to the time at which he was writing, and he says that it was "at the end of the first month of the forty-fourth year [from the year of that event], which is also

[1] Bede's words are: '. . . victoriam ipsi, Deo favente, suscipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant, usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eisdem hostibus strages dabant, XLmo circiter et IIIIo anno adventus eorum in Brittaniam.'

the year of my birth." (So I would construe the passage.)'

Mommsen (*Auctores*, xiii. 8) would correct the passage thus: the words *ut novi* have no sense; and the year which *orditur mense jam uno emenso* can only have been the year in which Gildas wrote; therefore a possible emendation would be *quique quadragesimus quartus* [*est ab eo qui*] *orditur annus*. 'Thus Gildas says that he is writing in the forty-fourth year from the siege of Mount Badon, and also from the time of his birth'; reckoning from the last British victory, as it is called in the rubric.

It is hazardous to oppose the views of so great scholars. But I venture to suggest that *ut novi* ('as I happen to know') is not certainly out of place here; and that *mense jam uno emenso* does not necessarily imply that the year is spoken of as present, any more than does the present tense *orditur*. The contrary would appear from the succeeding clause, *qui et meae nativitatis est*, 'this too is the [year ?] of my birth.' He certainly did not write in the year of his birth. I suggest that this part of the sentence is constructed in the historical present tense. As may be seen in the previous sentence, Gildas's style does not preclude mixture of tenses. In the next sentence, however, he does speak of the year in which he writes.

If the passage is corrupt, a satisfactory emendation must supply (before, or in place of, *ut novi*) words which would indicate the point of time in the past from which the reckoning was made. The words 'one month already having passed' do not fit in with Mommsen's suggested reading, which counts backwards from the present. Possibly we might read *ut novi* [*dicunt*], 'according to the new style.' Gildas *might* have meant that the year was numbered 44 in some paschal calendar, but unless he had a Victorian cycle beginning with A.D. 457 (the date of its publication) no other era fits; and this was not the usual year of commencement. No era had been universally adopted to date by in those days, so that when an era was counted from it

had to be specified. To indicate an era we should have to make unjustifiable changes in the text.

Sense can be made of the passage as it stands, after this fashion: 'After a considerable interval of time, when the most cruel robbers [the Saxons] had returned home, . . . the remnants [of the Britons] . . . (most wretched citizens) collected their strength, and challenged the victors to battle, . . . led by Ambrosius Aurelianus, . . . (whose descendants have greatly fallen off, now in our times, from the excellence of their ancestors); and, through God's favour, victory fell to [the Britons].

'*Of our country's last victory, which by God's favour was granted in our times.*

'From that time sometimes the citizens, sometimes the enemy, were victorious; . . . down to the year in which the mountain of Badon was besieged, and almost the last considerable slaughter [was made] of the miscreants, and which was, as I [happen to] know, the beginning of the forty-fourth year; one month already having passed, which was also the [month ?] of my birth. But not even yet are our country's cities inhabited as before.'

The rubric implies (*temporibus nostris*) that the battle was fought in Gildas's lifetime. It would be natural to understand that Gildas dated his birth forty-three years after some event, and the battle of Badon in the month after his birth.

We look, therefore, for some event mentioned, from which Gildas may have counted. The only words here which indicate such an event are the first words of the sentence, *ex eo tempore*; that is, from the time of the success of Ambrose over the invaders.[1]

Octha and Ebissa are said in the *Historia Brittonum* (ch. xxxviii.) to have led a settlement into the country between the Solway and the northern wall, in the beginnings of Saxon occupation of Britain. The *Historia Brittonum*

[1] Since writing the above, I find that Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson has suggested the same interpretation in this *Review*, ii. 374, 378.

places Arthur's victories indefinitely after the retiral of Octha from the south-west of Scotland to Kent. This retiral (if it occurred) may have been the occasion of Ambrose's success, which took place, according to Gildas, 'after the most cruel robbers had returned home.'

Geoffrey of Monmouth (who writes six centuries later than Gildas) places Ambrose's great victory at Kaerconan; Hengist, he says, was killed, the Saxons fled in all directions, to cities, to mountains, and to ships; 'but Octa, Hengist's son, went to York with the greater number; and his kinsman Eosa [went to] the town of Dumbarton, and fortified himself there with innumerable armed men.' Of course Geoffrey has no authority, but there may have been a germ of truth in the tradition which underlies this account.

Chapter sixty-six added to the *Historia Brittonum* implies that Ambrose flourished in [437]. The *Historia Brittonum* (ch. xxxi.) says that Vortigern was alarmed by the extent of Ambrose's power. Chapter forty-eight of the same work (derived from the *Liber S. Germani*) says that Ambrose became the next over-king of Britain, and that he gave to Vortigern's heir part of Vortigern's kingdom, Buelt and Guorthigirniaun. Ambrose's success probably took place several years after Vortigern's death; and Vortigern died late in 447 or early in 448. From the time of Ambrose's victory to the time when Gildas wrote, the Saxons had occupied no more of the Britons' lands.

It would have been entirely natural for Gildas's parents to have kept count of the years from the success of Ambrose, an event which saved their part of Britain from slavery.

Bede places the battle of Badon somewhere about 493. Zimmer thinks that Gildas cannot have been born much later than 496. Zimmer's argument rests upon the early date at which Gildas acquired authority. But possibly royal birth might have given Gildas authority beyond his years; and it might well be argued that the epistle was the work of a man still young: its audacity suggests rather

youthful ardour than the tact and experience of age. Certainly Gildas had been old enough (although, he says, not experienced enough) to write, ten years before he actually wrote; therefore he was not younger when he wrote than thirty or thirty-five. He wrote before the year 547. Finally, Gildas died about 570, and therefore was born probably not before 490. His birth and the battle of Badon must lie approximately between the years 490 and 510.

Plummer and Mommsen agree that the battle of Badon was fought forty-three years and one month before Gildas wrote. Arthur fell in the battle of Camelon, which was probably fought less than forty-three years after the battle of Badon; therefore their renderings would fix the date of Gildas's writing probably after the date of Arthur's death, while my suggested rendering would not necessarily place the time of writing so late.

According to my rendering of the passage quoted from Gildas above, Gildas may possibly have written before the battle of Camelon: his having done so without reference to Arthur would justify the assumption that Arthur was an entirely fabulous personage. If he wrote soon after the battle of Camelon, his silence would seem to be almost equally significant.

Half a century after Geoffrey's work appeared, Giraldus Cambrensis published a tradition, which may have sprung up to account for the silence of Gildas regarding Arthur, to this effect: 'And of Gildas, who inveighs so bitterly against his own nation, the Welsh say that he wrote [the *Excidium*] in offence because of the death of his brother, a prince of Scotland' (*i.e.* of Strathclyde), 'whom King Arthur had killed. Because of this, when [Gildas] heard of his brother's death, he threw into the sea, so they assert, all the many noble books which he had written of the deeds of Arthur, and of his nation's praises; and for this reason nothing is found related in authentic writings concerning so great a prince.'

Geoffrey of Monmouth's contemporary and continuator, Caradoc of Llancarvan, in his *Life of Gildas*, says that Gildas was one of the sons of Caw,[1] 'the most noble of the northern kings of Scotland.' Gildas's twenty-three brothers fought against Arthur, whom Gildas loved. The eldest, Hoel, a great warrior, 'obeyed no king, not even Arthur'; and he often led invasions from Scotland. Arthur overthrew the brothers, and killed Hoel in the Isle of Man (*Minau*). Gildas was teaching and preaching in Armagh; he grieved over the death of his brother, but passing through Britain on his way to Rome he gave Arthur the kiss of peace, and Arthur did penance and made amends.

But the Rhuys Life says that Gildas communicated with Bridget, and was invited to Ireland by King Ainmire. Bridget died in 524, or a few years earlier, according to Irish and Welsh annals; but Ainmire (Setna's son, Columba's cousin, who had been on the winning side in the battle of Cuil-dremne) reigned from 566 to 569, and died the year before Gildas's death, according to the Annals of Ulster. Ainmire is first mentioned there in 543. Gildas's voyage to Ireland, placed in [565] by MS. B. of the *Annales Cambriæ* (Ab Ithel's edition, p. 5), was not necessarily his first visit. Since Arthur must have been dead many years before 565, if there is any truth in Caradoc's statement it would seem to point to an earlier visit of Gildas to Ireland.

The Rhuys Life says that Gildas was thirty years old when he settled in Brittany, after returning from his journey to Rome. This is quite unauthoritative, but, if correct, would place his return from Ireland approximately before 530; and it would allow ten years to have passed between the death of his brother and the writing of the epistle, which might yet have been written before Arthur's death.

[1] Spelt *Nau*; *Caunus*, king of Arecluta, *i.e.* of Strathclyde, according to the Rhuys Life. But Anscombe says that Gildas's name 'does not occur in any list of the children of Caw' (*Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*, ii. 184).

Gildas implies that the kings whom he scourges with his epistle had not been among the first to succeed against the Saxons; not remembering the straits to which their predecessors had been driven, they were becoming degenerate in prosperity, and instead of preparing for future dangers they were wasting their strength in dissension and crime. Gildas's purpose is to warn them that, unless they mend their ways, God's vengeance will recall their enemies to conquer them.

Gildas certainly implies that he had also some definite cause for writing the *Excidium*, when he says that he had put off writing for more than ten years. But if he had had some special cause of offence against Arthur, and if Arthur had been still alive, he would surely not have omitted Arthur from his list of tyrannous kings.

Gildas directs his invective against five kings:

I. Constantinus, king of Devon and Cornwall, *inmundae leaenae Damnoniae tyrannicus catulus.* (If this Constantine was the king of Cornwall who entered monastic life about 598, he would seem to have lived for some time later still. When Gildas wrote, Constantine was already old enough to have repudiated his wife. Four of the five kings had done so. Geoffrey of Monmouth says that this Constantine was Arthur's 'relative, the son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall'; the Aberdeen Breviary (unauthoritative) says that St. Constantine was the 'son of Paternus, King of Cornwall,' and that he died about 576.)

II. Aurelius Caninus, *catule leonine*; the last survivor of his family, *relictus . . . jam solus ac si arbor in medio campo arescens.* (Zimmer, in *Nennius Vindicatus*, 307, would place the kingdom of Aurelius between Devon and South Wales, perhaps with its capital at Caerleon-on-Usk. But this location depends entirely upon the order in which Gildas names the kings. There is only general likelihood that he has followed correct geographical order.)

III. Vortiporus, King of South Wales (*Demetarum*, Pembrokeshire, according to Zimmer); *pardo similis*

moribus et nequitiis discolor. He was an old man, *canescente jam capite*; the wicked son of a good king.

IV. Cuneglasus: *urse, multorum sessor, aurigaque currus receptaculi Ursi, . . . Cuneglase, Romana lingua lanio fulve.* (His kingdom Zimmer would place between South Wales and Anglesey. This location is based upon the order in which the kings are named, and also upon the *Annales Cambriae's* genealogies, which he quotes thus from Harleian MS. 3859, comparing Y Cymmrodor, ix. 170, 172: *Mailcun map Catgolaun lauhir map Eniaun girt map Cuneda,* and *Cinglas map Eugein dantguin map Enniaun girt map Cuneda.* These pedigrees, if correct, would show that Maglocunus (Mailcun) and Cuneglasus (Cinglas) were cousins. Zimmer argues that Cuneglasus must have reigned in the land of North Wales, later ruled by the descendants of Cuneda, *i.e.* between the Teifi and the Dee. This conjecture does not wholly agree with what Gildas says of Maglocunus's kingdom.)

V. Maglocunus, king in an island (almost certainly Anglesey); *insularis draco,* loftier than almost all the leaders of Britain both in stature and in kingdom (*cunctis paene Britanniae ducibus tam regno . . . quam status liniamento editiorem.*) (His kingdom must therefore have extended far beyond Anglesey. He was probably king in North Wales, as he is called in the *Historia Brittonum* (ch. lxii.) and the *Annales Cambriae.* From Gildas's account Maglocunus appears to have deposed his uncle, and afterwards to have retired to a monastery for a time. This uncle may have been the father of Cinglas. Maglocunus died in 547.)

Zimmer argues that all the kings named ruled in the country extending from Devon to Anglesey, while the country to the north, from Chester and Leeds to Glasgow, including Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland; the West Riding of Yorkshire; and southern Scotland, from the Irish Sea to the North Sea—perhaps he means at Dunbar—was an independent British kingdom (Cumbria). This last kingdom, he says, is the only region of Welsh Britain

where copies of Gildas's work are known to have been preserved. (*Nennius Vindicatus*, 308, note.) Therefore, he concludes, none of the kings concerned reigned in that district.

But if a sixth king reigned in Cumbria, he is not excluded from the general condemnation of the kings of Britain; we cannot assume that Cumbria was not included in Gildas's use of the word Britannia. And unless a degenerate son or grandson of Ambrose is implied to have been king in another province, Gildas might be understood to mean that these five kingdoms included the whole of Roman Britain which had not been occupied by the Saxons. Notwithstanding Zimmer's ingenious reasoning, we do not know the position of the kingdoms of Cuneglasus and Aurelius Caninus.

We have now to consider the epithets which Gildas uses in addressing these kings: (I.) 'tyrannical cub of the foul lioness of Damnonia'; (II.) 'lion's cub,' from Jeremiah, li. 38 (the metaphor is a compliment to his courage); (III.) 'like a pard, parti-coloured in customs and wickednesses'; (cf. Jeremiah xiii. 23); (IV.) 'a bear'; (V.) 'island dragon.' These are all obvious enough metaphors. But in the case of Cuneglasus (IV.) he adds a very odd expression, the meaning of which is not so obvious. The apostrophe runs thus: 'Thou bear, thou rider of many, and charioteer of the car, the shelter of the bear; . . . Cuneglasus, in the Roman tongue "yellow-haired butcher."'

The words *receptaculum ursi* mean a bear's refuge or lurking-place, or the place where a bear was kept. *Receptaculum* came to mean a keep or fortress; but there is no such name as Cair-arth in the list of British cities placed after the *Historia Brittonum*. And it is altogether improbable that the words are to be taken literally.

Taken allegorically, 'the car which protects the bear,' or 'the car which holds the bear,' must surely mean the constellation of the Great Bear (Arctos), which was also anciently called the Waggon. (Part of this constellation,

the Plough, has also been called Charles's Wain and Arthur's Wain.) By the expression 'the driver of the Waggon, which protects (or holds) the Bear,' nothing could have been meant but Boötes, the Waggoner, the constellation which follows the Great Bear.[1]

But if this is his meaning, Gildas has changed the Waggon to a chariot, and has altered the gender of the Bear; it is feminine in Greek and Latin legend. Both changes are such as would make the allegory applicable to a warrior king.[2]

No other possible explanation of these words of Gildas has occurred to me. And considering that the words were written by Gildas, a florid stylist,[3] this explanation is not absurdly far-fetched, provided that the metaphor is a play upon the name of the king, with allegorical meaning.

Gildas explains the name Cuneglasus in the sense of 'yellow-haired butcher'; and although this is not a very correct translation of the word, at least it shows that the metaphor has nothing to do with the name Cuneglasus. Also the name Boötes resembles no known British name of Gildas's time.

But in the Middle Ages Boötes was very often called by another name, Arcturus (the bear-ward); and this name has a close resemblance to the name Arturus or Arthur.[4]

[1] Aratos, *Phainomena*, pp. 91-93. 'Behind Helike' (the Great Bear) 'is borne like a driver (*φέρεται ἐλάοντι ἐοικὼς*), Arktophylax' (the 'Bear's Guard'). 'Him men call Boötes, because he seems to touch the Waggon of the Bear.'

[2] Perhaps Gildas thought of the Bear as being baited by the Hunting Dogs; in that case the change of gender was natural, and necessary to the dignity of the metaphor. A somewhat similar metaphor occurs in Shakespeare in the words 'despite the bear-ward that protects the bear' in *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act v. Scene 1. Here the bear-ward is an earl and the (baited) bear his crest (the 'bear and ragged staff').

The word 'bear' when used in the sense of 'fierce warrior' was masculine in Latin (*ursus*).

[3] As an example of Gildas's style one may recollect that he calls a Scottish firth the 'valley of Tethys' (*Tithicam vallem*); Tethys, the wife of Oceanus, meaning metonymically the sea.

[4] In a late Middle-Irish tract on the Constellations, *Revue Celtique*, xxx. 404, the constellation is still called 'Arcturus,' with the note 'which had the name Boötes.' The name Arcturus was originally, and is now, restricted to the brightest star in the constellation.

The change from Arturus to Arcturus is no greater than that from Cinanus,

Therefore my interpretation of Gildas's words, if it is correct, would lead to the conclusion that the king's name was Arturus Cuneglasus. Can we prove that this was not the Arthur of legend ?

Here is what Gildas says of Cuneglasus: 'Why dost thou also wallow in the ancient filth of thy wickedness, [revived ?] from the years of thy youth ;[1] thou bear, thou rider of many, and charioteer of the car which holds the bear ; despiser of God, debaser of his order ;[2] Cuneglasus, in the Roman tongue *lanio fulve*' (yellow-haired butcher): 'why makest thou so great a struggle against both God and men ? Against men, namely thy fellow-citizens, with definite acts of violence (*armis specialibus*) ; against God with unlimited crimes (*infinitis sceleribus*) ? Why, besides innumerable lapses, after repudiating thy own wife, dost thou receive her villanous sister, who had vowed herself to the perpetual chastity of widowhood to God,—as the poet says, to the highest sensitiveness to the gods (*teneritudinem caelicolarum*), with the undivided reverence of her mind, or rather with insensibility to earthly influences' (*hebetudine nympharum* ; the translation is conjectural), 'contrary to the forbidding of the apostle, who denies that adulterers can be citizens of the heavenly kingdom ? Why dost thou provoke with frequent wrongs the groans and sighs of the saints who wrestle for thee in the body, instead of [injuring] the teeth (*vice . . . dentium*) of the foul lioness who will one day break thy bones ? Desist, I pray thee, as the prophet says' (Psalm xxxvii.—in Vulgate, xxxvi. 8), 'from wrath, and abandon the fatal and self-destructive rage which thou dost entertain against heaven

'Cynan' or 'Conan,' to Caninus, 'canine' ; if, as seems probable, Gildas has made this change in the name Aurelius Caninus. It is immaterial that Arturus would have been here probably in the vocative case, *Arture*. The difference appears still less significant when we remember that *Arct-* of *Arcturus* is the parallel of Welsh *arth*, a bear ; and that Ἀρκτοῦρος, if borrowed by the Britons, would have taken the form *Arthur* in Welsh.

[1] I take this to refer to the acts of violence spoken of below.

[2] This evidently refers to Cuneglasus' second marriage.

and earth, that is, against God and his flock. Rather change thy customs, and make those pray for thee who have the power to bind above the sinners whom they have bound upon earth, and to release above the penitent whom they have absolved' (St. Matthew xvi. 19).[1] 'Cherish not, as the Apostle says, wisdom in pride, nor hope based upon the uncertainties of wealth; but [cherish] hope in God, who gives thee many things abundantly; so that by mending thy ways, thou mayest lay up for thyself as a treasure a good foundation for the future, and mayest have true life' (cf. 1 Timothy vi. 17-19), 'eternal, not ephemeral; otherwise thou shalt know and see, even in this world, how bad and bitter it is that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and hast not fear of him before thee' (Jeremiah, ii. 19); 'and that in the future thou art burned in a noisome mass of eternal flames, yet without any manner of death, for the souls of the wicked are as immortal in eternal flame as are the souls of the holy in bliss.'

The 'foul lioness' must have been the 'foul lioness of Damnonia,' the mother of Constantine. Had Cuneglasus offended her by repudiating his wife? Gildas seems here to take Cuneglasus' side; and he does not blame him for the repudiation. It is remarkable that, according to Geoffrey (ix. 9), Arthur's wife, Guinevere, was the foster-child of Constantine's father.

There is nothing in Gildas's account of Cuneglasus which clashes with the account of Arthur given in the *Historia Brittonum*, and only one essential point of difference from the account of Arthur in Geoffrey's History:—Geoffrey implies that Arthur died very soon after the repudiation of his wife, and mentions no second marriage. The idealization of Arthur's character which begins in Geoffrey is no bar to identification. The only crucial difference is between the pedigree of Cinglas given in the *Annales Cambriæ's* genealogy, and the descent given to Arthur by Geoffrey;

[1] This quotation from St. Matthew is one of the points of resemblance between Gildas's epistle and Patrick's letter to the subjects of Coroticus.

and neither Geoffrey nor the genealogy has unimpeachable authority.

According to the genealogies which follow the *Annales Cambriae*, Cinglas and Mailcun were great-grandsons of Cuneda, whose descent by eighteen generations is traced from Beli the Great, and Anna, the cousin of the Virgin Mary. In the *Historia Brittonum* (ch. lxii.), Cuneda is said to have been Mailcun's great-great-great-grandfather (*atavus*), and to have gone to North Wales from Manau on the Forth, one hundred and forty-six years before Mailcun's accession. This statement tends to discredit the genealogy, which seems to have missed two generations. The genealogy was written some two hundred and seventy-five years later than the earliest part of the *Historia Brittonum*; to which part, however, chapter sixty-two may not belong.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History* is so full of fable that it is very difficult to detect any germs of historical truth which it may contain. Stories about Arthur had sprung up long before Geoffrey's day; but they, and he, and his followers, belong to literature, not to history. Nevertheless one might expect that relationships would be the details most correctly given.

Geoffrey says that Arthur's father, Uther Pendragon, was the brother of Aurelius Ambrosius. Thus the pedigree of Ambrose became the pedigree of Arthur. But neither Uther nor his son occurs in the old Welsh genealogies indexed by Mr. Anscombe, except in the Mostyn MS. of Geoffrey's *History*. There are later pedigrees of Arthur's nephew Geraint. (See Anscombe, in the *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*, ii. 157-158.)

The relationship between Arthur and Ambrose is under suspicion also because Geoffrey would not have been willing to admit that he did not know Arthur's descent,[1] and

[1] Similarly in the case of Ambrose we have no account of his descent earlier than Geoffrey's. Gildas says simply that Ambrose's parents were Romans of high rank (*parentibus, purpura nimirum indutis*); the earliest part of the *Historia Brittonum* says that Ambrose's father was a Roman consul.

because it must have been Geoffrey's wish to connect Arthur with the most illustrious man of the previous generation. Against the relationship is to be placed the silence of the *Historia Brittonum*.

Further, the story of Arthur's birth given by Geoffrey reads like an attempt to unify different accounts of his parentage.

Annotators, apparently of the thirteenth century, have inserted in Nennius (Mommsen's edition, 199 ; Petrie's, 73) : ' And [Arthur] was the conqueror in all the [twelve] battles. *Mab uter* in British is *filius horribilis* in Latin, because he was cruel from his childhood. *Artur* translated into Latin is *ursus horribilis* ' (terrible bear), ' or *malleus ferreus* ' (iron hammer) ' wherewith are broken the lions' teeth (*mole leonum*).' All three etymologies remind one of Gildas's words about Cuneglasus : did the annotators understand those words to refer to Arthur ?

By his translation of *mab uter* as the ' terrible youth,' the annotator seems to reject Geoffrey's statement that Arthur was the son of Uther. And Arthur himself might have been called Pendragon ; according to Geoffrey, Arthur wore a dragon-shaped helmet (ix. 4). It is more likely that Uther was an epithet [1] of Arthur's father. The words *mab uter* were perhaps a traditional appellation of Arthur, and cannot be dismissed as the invention of the legend-makers. It is not likely that Uther was an additional epithet of Eugein Dant-guin (' Ewen White-toothed,') the father of Cinglas in the genealogy ; so that if the genealogy and Geoffrey are both right in these particulars, Cinglas and Arthur were probably not the same. But both authorities have been impugned. And, of course,

[1] Uther seems not to occur as the name of any one else. Holder does not include it as a proper name in his *Sprachschatz*. Jago quotes it from Borlase as a Cornish word, *uter* (beside the more usual *uthec*) meaning horrible ; Williams, under *uthec*, quotes Welsh *uthyr* ; and Stokes and Holder quote from Ernault the Welsh form as ' *uthr*, awful.' The Cornish word *uth*, horror, is certainly a Brythonic parallel of the Gaelic *fuath*.

neither authority could stand for a moment if it were in conflict with Gildas.[1]

Ambrose was descended from the Romans, and he probably ruled over a province of Roman Britons in Britain: according to the Lives of Gildas, Caw would appear to have been king at the same time of the Roman Britons of part, at least, of Cumbria. The Irish Nennius (probably misunderstanding the *Historia Brittonum*) says that Ambrose was 'king of the Franks and the Armorican Britons'; but according to Geoffrey, he was king of Britain, while his father's brother, Aldroen, was king of Brittany, the fourth from Conan, whom Maximus had placed there. Localities in the legends are so incorrectly given that no trust can be placed in them.

There is some likelihood that Arthur belonged to the province of Ambrose. Arthur's alleged killing of Gildas's brother may have been an incident in his usurpation of the kingdom of Cumbria, or a part of it. This is very dubious; but some traditions and some of the place-names of his battles appear to connect Arthur with the south of Scotland.

In Geoffrey's story Ambrose was succeeded as king of Britain by Uther, and Uther by Arthur, so that the whole of Uther's short reign and almost the whole of Ambrose's reign intervened between Ambrose's success over Hengist and the exploits of Arthur. According to Geoffrey, Arthur died in 542, in the battle of the Cambula (the battle of Camelon), where he fought against Modred, the son of his sister Anna and Lot, consul of Lothian.[2]

In the *Annales Cambriae* the battles of Badon and

[1] The statement that Gildas laments ignorance of his subject is incorrect; he deplores conventionally his *inexperience* [in writing] (*imperitiam*). In this he had the precedent of his countryman, Fastidius.

[2] The anonymous *Life of Kentigern* (later than Geoffrey) calls this Lot 'Leudonus,' and says that he was by one marriage the father of Thenew or Thanea, the mother of Kentigern. But it says also that Kentigern's father was the famous Owen who, with his father Urien, fought against the Angles of Northumbria, *c.* 570; an impossible relationship, because Kentigern was very old when he died, and his death is recorded in 612 by the *Annales Cambriae*. The *Life* has perhaps been misled by Geoffrey, who makes Urien (Urianus) the brother of Lot.

Camelon are entered under the years 516 and 537 respectively; but the first date is wrong, and the second is under suspicion. Since Gildas was born in the year of Arthur's final great victory, he must have been a generation younger than Arthur. And Gildas died in 570. Therefore the date 537 is not an impossible one for Arthur's death, especially if Arthur was young when he began his career of war. Geoffrey of Monmouth says that Arthur was fifteen years old when he became king.

In Geoffrey's account Arthur was succeeded by Constantine, after whom reigned in succession Aurelius Conanus, Wortiporius, Malgo, Careticus.[1] Some words used in speaking of Careticus seem to show that his name is a mistake for Cuneglasus. Geoffrey shows here very clearly the artificial nature of his historical method, when he turns Gildas's five provincial kings into five successive kings of all Britain.

The scheme of my argument is this: (1) Arthur may have been alive when Gildas wrote; (2) one of the kings addressed by Gildas appears to have borne the name Arturus; (3) this king's wife and Arthur's wife may have been the same; (4) annotators of Nennius seem to have regarded the two kings as the same.

I conclude this series of possibilities with an hypothesis. If Gildas had called Cuneglasus explicitly by the name Arturus, this might conceivably have been another Arthur: but if the stellar metaphor stands for that name at all, it can have meant no other Arthur than Arthur, the king of romance.

[1] Geoffrey's *History*, xi. 8: 'To Malgo succeeded Careticus, a lover of civil wars, and hateful to God and to the Britons.' These words seem to have been derived from Gildas's account of Cuneglasus.

CHILDREN'S RIMES FROM THE MSS. OF THE REV. FATHER ALLAN MACDONALD

THE first is sometimes the preliminary to a game of catch-as-catch-can.

RANN IOMAINACH	AN INVITATION TO SHINTY
Thugainn a dh' iomain.	Come to shinty.
Ciod e 'n iomain ?	What shinty ?
Ioman chaman.	Shinty of clubs.
Ciod e 'n caman ?	What clubs ?
Caman iubhar.	Clubs of yew.
De 'n t-iubhar ?	What yew ?
Iubhar athar.	Yew of air.
De 'n t-athar ?	What air ?
Athar ian.	Air of bird.
De 'n t-ian ?	What bird ?
Ian air iteag.	Bird on wing.
De 'n iteag ?	What wing ?
Iteag fithich.	Wing of raven.
De fitheach ?	What raven ?
Fitheach feola.	Raven of flesh.
De 'n fheoil ?	What flesh ?
Feol dhaoine.	Flesh of men.
De na daoine ?	What men ?
Daoine naomha.	Holy men.
De 'n naomh ?	What holiness ?
Naomh eich.	Holiness of horse.
De 'n t-each ?	What horse ?
Each braonach.	Horse of water.
De 'm braon ?	What water ?
Braon sleibhe.	Water of hill.
De 'n sliabh ?	What hill ?
Sliabh a mhachaire.	Hill of machar.[1]

[1] A sandy grassy plain.

De 'm machair ?	What machar ?
Machair eisg.	Machar of fish.
Gu de 'n t-iasg ?	What fish ?
Iasg dubhain.	Fish of hook.
Gu de 'n dubhan ?	What hook ?
Dubhan beag briosgalach brosgalach.	A little bobbing, alluring (?) hook.
A ghoid an Righ air a Bhanruinn.	That the King stole from the Queen.
Falbh fhein	Go yourself.
Gearr leum	Give a leap
'S thoir bhuaith e.	And take it from him.

SGEULACHD NA CAILLICHE BIGE

Chaidh cailleach beag biòdach biòdach.
Gu feill bheag bhiòdach, bhiòdach.
Cheannaich i feoil bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Thainig i dhachaidh gu biòdach biòdach.
Dh'fhosgail i dorus beag biòdach biòdach.
Thog i teine beag biòdach biòdach.
'S chuir i poit bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Air an teine bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Chuir i 'n fheoil bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
A's a phoit bhig bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Chaidh i suas gu biòdach biòdach.
Gus am bi'eadh an fheoil bhiòdach bhiòdach bruich.
Thainig i nuas gu biòdach biòdach.
Fiach an robh 'n fheoil bhiòdach bhiòdach bruich.
Thog i dheth a phoit bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
'S thug i as an fheoil bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach.
'S chuir i air truinnsear beag biòdach biòdach i.
'S chuir i air a bhord bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach i.
Chaidh i fhein suas dha 'n leabaidh bhig bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Gus am bi'dh an fheoil bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach fuar.
Thainig i nuas gu biòdach biòdach.
Dh'fhiach an robh 'n fheol bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach fuar.

Cha robh sgial air an fheoil bhig bhiòdach bhiòdach.
Dh'fhoighnich a chailleach bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach dha'n choilich.
'Gog a mhil—aogh! an tusa ghoid an fheoil a choilich?'
'Gog a mhil—aogh!' orsa 'n coileach cha mhise dh'ith an fheoil' a chaillich.
'Gog-gag-aogh! an tusa ghoid an fheoil a chirc?'
'Gog-gag-aogh! cha mhise ghoid an fheoil ort' a chaillich.'
'Ban-an-an! an tusa dh'ith an fheoil a choin?'
'Ban-an-an! cha mhise dh'ith an fheoil a chaillich.'
'Mi an! mi an! mi an! an tusa dh'ith an fheoil a chait?'
'Mi an! mi an! mi an! cha mhise dh'ith an fheoil a chaillich.'

'Cha 'n eil mi 'n duil gu robh 'n corr stoc aice. Cha do dh'ith i 'n fheoil bheag bhiòdach bhiòdach riamh' orsa Mairi Anna.

THE EXECUTIONER OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

Professor Mackinnon

Mediæval legend, Gaelic and other, supplements in large detail the narrative given in St. Matthew and St. Mark of the martyrdom of John the Baptist. Atkinson printed in *Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac* (p. 64+) the version given in that MS. A poem of 43 quatrains, giving practically the same details, with the additional circumstance that the Druid *Mogh Ruith* was the executioner, is printed from the Book of *Hui Maine* in *Eriu* iv., p. 173+. (Cf. also Rawlinson, B. 502, p. 157, 36). In MS. 1. of the Scottish Collection (pp. 14-15*a*) is a version of the same legend in prose, slightly differing in detail from the versions in L. Br. and Y. B. L. To our version the following short poem is appended, which, save in making *Mogh Ruith* the

executioner, is of entirely different text from that in the Book of *Hui Maine*:—

Apsalon baile in righ
Le na n-derrnadh in mor gnim;
Is ann sin, nir buan am bladh,
Do marbadh Eoin an t-uasal.

'Cia h-acaib ghabhas do laim,
Mo dhichennad do droch mnaib?
Nocha sloinnedh thiar no thoir
Do Ghallaib do Ghaidhelaib.'

'Gaeidhel sut ar cach uile,'
A Eoin alainn foltbhuidhe;
'Is fada siar ata a theach,
A crichaib na fuinedhach.'

'Sirim idche ar Crist romchar,'
Adubairt Eoin an t-uasal,
'Nar faghaib Gaeidhel con a eib
Biadh 7 edach den taeib.'

Adubairt Modh Ruith gan raith
'Tabraidh dam buaib a edach derb,
Co m-benainn de a chenn
A shlanfa feraib Erenn.'

Beantar a chenn d'Eoin ar sin;
Tic an gnim re Gaeidhel;
Curtar mor d'airged is d'or,
Fa'n cenn toir an Apsolon.

Askelon, the royal seat,
In which the great deed was done;
There, not lasting was the fame,
John the noble was slain.

'What evil woman among you,
Will take in hand my beheading?
Not one from east or west,
Of the blood of Foreigners or Gaels.

'Thou handsome yellow-haired John,
Yonder is a Gael beyond all others;
His abode is far away in the west,
In the lands of the western men.'

I ask a boon from Christ who loves me,'
Said John the noble,
'That no comely Gael may get
Food nor raiment in any case.'

Said Mogh Ruith without grace,
'Give to me even his raiment,
And I shall cut off his head
For the weal of the men of Ireland.'

Then was John beheaded,
The Gael will suffer therefrom;
Much silver and gold
Was put under the head east in Askelon.

The famous Gaelic wizard *Mogh Ruith* was, according to Irish genealogy, a descendant of the hero Fergus Mac-Roich and Queen Meave of Cruachan. He is said to have studied, with his daughter Tlachtga, under Simon Magus, and to have assisted that great Druid in his contention with the Apostles. The part assigned to *Mogh Ruith* as executioner of the Baptist accounts no doubt for the prophecies regarding the terrible disasters that were to overtake the Gael on the Festival of John the Baptist alluded to in the poem here printed, and more explicitly in that in the Book of *Hui Maine*. (Cf. further O'Curry, *MS. Mat.*, pp. 384, 402, 404, 423.)

THE BRITISH RACE AND KINGDOM IN SCOTLAND

James Ferguson

I

Of the elements which composed the Scottish nation, the Celtic races contributed three constituents. To the Scots fell the position of pre-eminence; the Picts probably more than any other provided the great bulk of the rural population; but the share of the Cymry or Britons has scarcely received the independent attention it deserves. Yet it

must have been the British population of southern Scotland who were furthest advanced and most highly civilised in early ages. They maintained for at least six centuries a kingdom of their own, and joined in contention or in alliance on no unequal terms with Pict, Scot, and Saxon. Their final absorption in the kingdom of Scotland was due to no violent conquest, but to dynastic developments and the pressure of general change. Their gallant contest with Teutonic invasion was not only maintained through a succession of fierce-fought fields, in which victory was not unfairly divided, but it left to Christendom the memory of a hero around whose name tradition, legend, and poesy have woven the loftiest creations of Romance. The early literature of the Cymric race is to a large extent the work and the record of 'the Men of the North,' and it is eloquent alike of high deeds of valour and of a profound sense of the beauties of Nature. Taliessin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, and Myrddin are a remarkable quartette of poets, and to some extent witnesses of and partakers in the events which they celebrated in song. Llywarch Hen, like Ossian, was a prince and a warrior as well as a poet, and the verses that record the deaths of his sons in battle may be compared with the lament of the son of Fingal over Oscar. The internecine strife of Arderydd drove Merlinus Sylvestris, 'Myrddin of the Woods,' distracted into the depths of the Caledonian forest. Aneurin tells how he escaped with life from the spilling of blood at Catraeth as the reward of his sacred song, and the nameless poet, who at a later date continued his poem, watched from the height of Adoyn the conflict in which the Scot, Domnal Breac, fell. Taliessin says of Brochwael of Powys, defeated in the great battle of Chester, 'he loved my song'; and it is with the touch of one who saw the fight that he depicts Urien's defence of Gwenystrad. The Four Ancient Books of Wales, in which their poems are preserved, are eloquent of a long and fierce struggle with the Saxon intruders, of the recall of earlier traditions, and of a time when the spirit of the nation was

high, and the triumphs of Cadwallaun had recovered much that had been lost. It was a later poet who sang :—

> 'Their God they shall adore,
> Their language they shall keep,
> Their country they shall lose
> Except wild Wales.'

But a more courageous note runs through the verse of the earlier bards, which speaks of unabated hope, of an uncertain issue, and of respect from the separate Gaelic race.

> 'Angles and Galwyddel
> Let them make war.'
> . . . .
> I will predict before the end
> The Brython uppermost of the Saxon ; the Picts say it.

It was in the year 79 that the Roman arms first penetrated into what is now Scotland, when Agricola reduced the tribes lying to the north of the Solway, and extended the Imperial power and introduced Roman civilisation along the lower valleys of Galloway. In the following year he crossed the hills that divide Dumfriesshire from the Clyde valley and central Scotland, encountered 'new nations,' and carried his arms as far as the Tay. The year 81 was devoted to erecting a chain of fortified posts between the Forth and Clyde, and the following years saw the expedition to Kintyre, and the campaigns against the Caledonians of the north. The recall of Agricola resulted in the loss of the acquisitions in Scotland, and in the year 120 Hadrian fixed the limits of the Roman province further south, and erected the great wall from the Tyne to the Solway. Nineteen years later, under Antoninus, the Roman eagles were again carried northwards, and Lollius Urbicus constructed the wall between the Forth and Clyde which for two hundred and eighty years remained the formal boundary of Roman dominion, though the province was frequently invaded, local insurrections had also to be quelled, and the line of the northern *limes* was probably held for a shorter period than has been

supposed. After his northern campaign of 208 the Emperor Severus reconstructed one of the walls, and obtained the cession of a part of the territory to the north, possibly the central district previously occupied by Agricola, in which roads were made and advanced posts were placed. For a hundred and fifty years the region between the walls may have been more or less at peace under Roman rule, or that of Roman officers, who for brief periods set up an independent authority; but in the year 360 the invasions of the Picts and Scots began, the Picts attacking the northern province, and the Scots from Ireland the west coast, effecting a settlement in Wales, while in 364 the Saxons in the east killed Nectarides, the Count of the Saxon Shore. The Picts were joined by the Attacotti, a tribe of the region between the walls, and after the reconquest by Theodosius, a number of 'this warlike nation of the Britons' were enrolled in the Roman army. In 383 Maximus, the Roman commander in Britain, was proclaimed Emperor by the troops, repressed the incursions of the Picts and Scots, but lost his throne and life five years later in Gaul. The ambition of Maximus had withdrawn the Imperial troops from the island, and the incursions of the Picts and Scots recommenced and continued until Stilicho in 400 sent a legion which repelled the invaders, and again garrisoned the northern wall. Four years later, on the recall of this legion, the invasions were resumed, and Stilicho sent three legions, which protected the province to its fullest extent. In 407 the army in Britain proclaimed Constantine emperor, who in the pursuit of continental ambition again withdrew the legions. He counselled the provincial Britons to abandon the region between the walls, and appears to have erected the rampart called the Picts Dyke, which runs from Loch Ryan to Sanquhar on the Nith, for the protection of the Galloway valleys, and constructed towers on the south coast ravaged by the Saxon pirates. In 409 the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, at the instigation of Gerontius, again attacked the British provinces, and the

Emperor Honorius in 410 wrote letters to the cities in Britain urging them to look after their own safety. The provincial Britons then rose, freed their cities from the barbarians, and drove out the Roman prefects, and Britain ceased to be part of the Roman empire.

To understand the future developments, it is necessary to have in view the Roman military organisation. The command of the troops in the north was in the hands of an officer called the *Dux Britanniæ*, and that of those on the eastern and southern coast under another called the *Comes tractus Maritimi*, or *Comes litoris Saxonici*. After the invasion of the Scots from Ireland a new command was instituted, that of the *Comes Britanniarum*, who had charge of the western coasts. The supreme commander appears to have been the *Dux Britanniæ*, and the office must have continued when the place of the vanished legions was taken by local levies. The successor of the *Dux* or Roman commander was the Welsh *Guledig* or *Guletic*, ruler of the country. Thus the great defence against the Saxons in the south was made by Ambrosius Aurelianus, of whom Gildas says that the Britons took arms *duce Ambrosio Aureliano*, a man of Roman descent, whose relations had borne the purple, and had been killed in contests with the Saxons, and who appears in the Welsh documents as Emrys Guledig. He was probably the successor of the *Comes litoris Saxonici*. Similarly Maximus, who had been both *Dux* and *Imperator*, is found under the name of Maxen Guledig as the traditionary ancestor of the Cymric kings. Two distinct classes are found among the Britons, the first consisting of the Roman provincials, or those who had considered themselves Roman citizens, descended in many cases from Roman soldiers or officials who had married and settled in the country, and the other of the native inhabitants of the more distant or less accessible districts of the north and west, later conquered, less civilised, and more accustomed to warfare with the northern invaders. The inhabitants of the rich cities and more open and civilised

regions fell an easy prey, but there was hardy material in the hills and forests, and among the higher classes there must have been many with Roman blood and Roman military experience. Gildas relates that 'the discomfited people wandering in the woods began to feel the effects of a severe famine, which compelled many of them without delay to yield themselves up to their cruel persecutors to obtain subsistence. Others of them, however, lying hid in mountains, caves, and woods continually sallied out from thence to renew the war, and then it was for the first time they overthrew their enemies, who had for so many years been living in their country.'

When the Romans advanced north of the Solway they found the country up to the Forth and Clyde occupied by five native tribes. On the east the Ottadeni (or Votadini) and the Gadeni, who appear to have belonged to the great race of the Brigantes, held the country from the Tyne to the Forth, their cities being Curia (probably Carby Hill in Liddesdale), Bremenium (or High Rochester in Redesdale), and Alauna, placed by Ptolemy in the Firth of Forth, corresponding to Inchkeith, and probably the same place as the 'urbs Giudi' placed by Bede in the middle of the Forth, the Caer Sidi of the Welsh poets, and the Judeu of the war between Oswy and Penda. Dumfriesshire was occupied by the Selgovæ, their towns being Trimontium (Birrenswark), Uxellum (probably near Caerlaverock), Corda (Sanquhar), and Carbantorigum, which has been identified with the Moat of Urr beyond the Nith. West of the Nith Galloway generally was held by the Novantæ, a tribe of Picts. North of the hills forming the northern boundary of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown shires, was the great tribe of the Damnonii, who held the whole country, including the shires of Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Stirling, to the Clyde and the Forth at Stirling, and the central districts of Menteith, Strathearn, and West Fife, beyond as far as the Tay. The name of the Damnonii is the same as that of the British

inhabitants of Cornwall; and the effect of the construction of the great wall and limitation of the Roman province was to separate this people into two great sections, of which the northern one became more or less amalgamated with the Picts of north-eastern Scotland, whose history and language was thus substantially affected, the fragments of the Pictish language which remain showing distinct traces of affinity with that of the Cornish Britons. Their towns were Colania, near the sources of the Clyde, Coria (Carstairs), and Vandogara, at Loudon Hill in Ayrshire, and in the central region north of the Forth, Alauna, at the confluence of the Allan; Lindum at Ardoch, and Victoria, near Loch Orr in west Fife.

When the light of authentic history first breaks on the confusion that followed the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the general development of events in southern Scotland had been of this nature. The Damnonii, so far as located in Perthshire and Fife, had been absorbed by the southern Picts, and with them formed the men of Fortrenn. The Picts had broken through or turned the Roman wall, and settled in Lothian and the eastern lowlands between the walls as natives (*pro indigenis*), but in their turn had been invaded and more or less extirpated by the Angles, who had gradually occupied the country from the seaboard westwards and were constantly encroaching, while earlier Teutonic settlements on the coast further north are indicated by the expression the Frisian shore, and some of the Pictish legends. In Argyllshire the Scots from Ireland had founded the kingdom of Dalriada. Galloway—with the exception possibly of the shores of Loch Ryan and the Rhinns, to which the name Novant seems to have been restricted, three 'chiefs of Novant' fighting in the British host at Catraeth—remained Pictish, but the rest of the south from Loch Long and Glenfalloch to at least the Lothian Esk, the Gala and Kelso on the Tweed, was, generally speaking, held by a population of British race conterminous and in close relations with their kindred

in modern Cumberland, Teyrnlwgg (*i.e.* Lancashire and Cheshire from the Derwent to the Cheshire Dee), and Wales. Immediately south of the Forth, and stretching from the Carron to the Esk, was a region where the population was mixed, though probably mainly Pictish, and which at that time may be described as the cockpit of Scotland. It consisted of the area known to the Welsh as Manau Guotodin, or Gododin (obviously the land of the Ottadeni), and to the Gael as Manann, embracing the northern part of Lothian, and the great plain of Manand, which still retains the name of Slamannan. On the immediate shore of the Forth, and extending from the Avon to the Carron, was the lesser district known in Latin as Calatria, to the Gael as Calathros, and to the Welsh as Galtraeth or Catraeth.

The topography of southern Scotland does not establish that the Cymric race were the sole or most numerous aboriginal inhabitants. In Berwickshire and its vicinity both Gaelic and Cymric place names have been largely superseded by those of Saxon origin. Over the rest of Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde there are many names of Cymric derivation not found in the regions to the north. Still the majority of the local designations are Gaelic in form, and resemble more those of Scotland to the north than of England to the south. It would thus appear that the original population was of Gaelic stock, that the ancestors of the Strathclyde Britons were conquerors from the south, and that probably a considerable element of the original Gaelic blood remained in the mass of the people. It seems too large a conclusion to be drawn from the recorded facts of history that either Pictish or Scottish Gaels made so complete and exterminating a conquest of the region between the walls after the Roman evacuation as to supersede the existing nomenclature by that of the invaders to the extent accomplished by the Saxons in Berwickshire and England. If the Cymri be regarded as a numerous but originally external ruling race, largely reinforced during the Roman occupation, this may account

for the comparative ease with which the Romans penetrated to the Forth contrasted with the strenuous resistance they encountered beyond it, for the severe campaigns which Arthur had to fight in the north of the former Roman province, and for the ultimate retreat of the men of Strathclyde to Wales, when effective resistance to the Saxon inundation appeared to be hopeless.

The first light thrown upon events in Scotland is given by a fragment of Welsh history, which records that the Scots from Ireland, who had occupied the western districts of South Wales were driven out by Cunedda and his sons, and that Maelcunus (Maelgwn), king of the region of Gwenedotia, was the great-grandson of Cunedda, who, with his eight sons, 'came from the north, that is the region which is called Manau Guotodin' a hundred and forty-six years before Maelgwn reigned. As Maelgwn was alive in 560, this places the departure of Cunedda from the north at a period immediately after the withdrawal of the Romans, and coincident with the irruption of the Picts into the territory between the walls. The north thus gave its early line of kings to Wales. Cunedda is termed in the Welsh documents Guledig, and it seems probable that he was a British warrior who had succeeded to the functions of the *Dux Britanniæ*, and withdrawn his troops from the northern to within the southern wall. The early poems have obvious references to a conflict in the north. They tell of 'Ercwulf the wall piercer,' who was probably a Pict, and 'Madawg the joy of the wall'; and they record Cunedda as fighting also with the men of Bernicia, the region from the Forth to the Tees, they being either the Picts who had settled up to the southern wall or the early Angle invaders.

'There is trembling from fear of Cunedda the burner
In Caer Weir (Durham) and Caer Llewellyd (Carlisle)
. . . A door hurdle
The men of Bryneich carried in the battle
They became pale from fear of him,
He was to be admired in the tumult with nine hundred horse.'

In the poems there is frequent mention of the 'Gosgordd' or retinue of the Guledig, which consisted of three hundred horse with their three captains, and seems to have been a body employed in defence of the frontier. In the Triads of Arthur the three Gosgordds of the passes of the island of Britain are mentioned, and 'the Gosgordd Mur,' or retinue of the wall, is also referred to in the poems. In one it is said:—

'Three score *canhwr* stood on the wall,
Difficult was a conversation with its sentinel.'

Canhwr is the Welsh for the Roman *centuria*, and sixty centuries made up the full strength of a legion. Three hundred was the strength of the Roman cavalry with the legion, and nine hundred the strength of the auxiliary cavalry attached to it. When the poet asks

'Who are the three chief ministers
That guarded the country?'

he would seem to refer either to the three Roman commanders or their British successors, and that the British Guledig was their representative, and in some cases of Roman descent, is clearly indicated when we come to the poems that relate to the achievements of Arthur, who is described as

'A warrior of two authors
Of the race of the steel Ala.'

. . . .

'With his red purple
And his assault over the wall,
And his appropriate chair
Amongst the retinue of the wall.

. . . .

From the loricated legion
Arose the Guledig
Around the old renowned boundary.'

Ala being the Roman designation of a troop of cavalry, and *lorica* the Roman breastplate or cuirass.

Of two of his chiefs it is said:—

'They were staunch commanders
Of a legion for the benefit of the country
Bedwyr and Briddaw,
Nine hundred would to them listen.'

We next touch historic ground in the account of the campaigns of Arthur given in the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius. The historic Arthur is a very different figure from the Arthur of Breton and later Cymric tradition and mediæval romance. He is described not as *rex* but as *dux bellorum*, a title which indicates the Guledig, and the scenes of his battles have all been identified in Scotland, and generally on the frontier of what is known to have been British territory. His antagonists were both Saxons and Picts, and mainly the former, though the extent to which they had penetrated the central districts of Scotland is uncertain. His date is determined by that of the battle of Badon Hill, which took place in 516. Nennius tell us that Hengist had been followed to Britain by his son Octa and his nephew Ebissa, to whom he promised the regions which are in the north '*juxta murum quod vocatur Gual*' (*i.e.* the northern wall), and that they occupied many regions as far as the boundary of the Picts. Octa and Ebissa or Ossa and their successors were the opponents of Arthur in the Welsh traditions, and the localities of his battles are mostly in the vicinity of the northern wall, while their order indicates the systematic prosecution of one or more campaigns in the field, and the subsequent reduction of fortified places.

The first battle was *in ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glein*, identified by Mr. Skene with a tributary of the Irvine in the parish of Loudoun, Ayrshire. The next four fights were *super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et est in regione Linnuis*. Two rivers called Douglas flow into Loch Lomond in the Lennox, while Ben Arthur at the head of Loch Long is in the vicinity. The sixth was *super flumen quod vocatur Bassas*, of which the name has disappeared, but the site of which has been identified as Dunipace (Dunipais) where

the Bonny runs into the Carron. The seventh was *in silva Caledonis, id est, Cat Coit Celidon, i.e.* in the Caledonian wood of southern Scotland, called by the Welsh Coed Celyddon, which included the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick. The eighth battle was *in castello Guinnion*, or the white fort, in which Arthur carried an image of the Virgin on his shield, and it is said also took into battle a cross he had brought from Jerusalem, of which fragments were long preserved at Wedale. Wedale, which means in Saxon the dale of woe, is Stow, watered by the rivers Gala and Heriot. The same valley is later on found called Gwenystrad or the white strath. The church of Stow was dedicated to St. Mary, and there was a Roman castellum not far from it. The ninth battle was *in urbe Leogis* or *Legionis, qui Britannice Kairlieum dicitur*. Nennius states that from Loch Lomond there goes to the sea a single river which is called Leum, *i.e.* the Leven, and the Irish text calls the town *Cathraig in Leamhan* or the town on the Leven, while the Welsh Bruts place one of the battles at Alclyde or Dumbarton, and in a Parliamentary Record of 1367 Dumbarton is called *Castrum Arthuri*. The tenth battle was *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Treuruit*, or Trath Truiroit, the same word as that given in the poems as Trywruid, and Tratheu Trywruid. The Forth was, according to an old description of 1165, called in Scots Froch, in British Werid, and the site seems to have been the links of Forth, while William of Worcester says '*Rex Arthurus custodiebat* le round table *in castro de Styrling, aliter Snowdon west castle*.' The eleventh battle was *in monte qui dicitur Agned*. Mynyd Agned and Mynyd Eiddin were the British names for Edinburgh, and here again we have Arthur's Seat. On this occasion the antagonists appear to have been the Picts of Lothian, for one MS. adds Cathregonnum, and another *contra illos que nos Cathbregyon appellamus*, while one of the later poems refers to 'the *Cat Verith* of a strange language.' The twelfth battle was *in Monte Badonis*. The similarity of name and the existence of a river Avon there have led to the assump-

tion that this battle was fought at Bath, but the Ossa Cyllelawr, whom tradition always names as Arthur's opponent, was a leader of the northern Saxons. Not far from Linlithgow, on the river Avon of that region, is Bouden Hill, of a remarkable contour and considerable size, the top of which is fortified with double ramparts. According to Sibbald's account of Linlithgowshire (1710), 'There is a great cairn of stones upon Lochcote hills over against Buden, and in the adjacent ground there have been found chests of stones with bones in them.' It would therefore appear that in the first six battles Arthur cleared the open country of the enemy's organised mobile army, and in the next four proceeded to the reduction of the fortresses built on the rocks of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, and the Bouden Mount. The Bruts record that Arthur gave the districts he had conquered to three brothers, Urien, Llew, and Arawn. To Urien he gave Reged or Mureif, into which he had driven the Picts from Alclyde, they taking refuge there in Loch Lomond. The name of Mureif is obviously derived from the wall (*murus*), and the statement points to a reconquest from the Picts, with whom the Saxons may have then been in alliance, of the old territory of the Damnonii between the wall and the Forth. To Llew, who was the Lothus king of the Picts of Scottish tradition and whose daughter Thenau was mother of St. Kentigern, he gave Lodoneis or Lothian, and to Arawn a district called Yscotlont or Prydyn, probably the region about Stirling.

For over twenty years there is a blank, and then, in 537, is recorded *Gweith Camlan in qua Arthur et Medraut corruere*, the battle of Camlan or Camelon in which Arthur and Modred fell. Modred was the son of Llew of Lothian, and the battle was probably the consequence of an insurrection led by Modred, of the Pictish and Saxon pagan population of the eastern districts, to whose pagan influences Llew and his son had succumbed. Camelon on the south bank of the Carron has extensive remains of a Roman town, and there

was that remarkable ancient monument, mentioned in 1293 as *Furnus Arthuri*, and known to later times as Arthur's Oon. The older Welsh poems contain allusions to certain of Arthur's battles, and the names of some of the knights of Arthurian romance can be recognised, Sir Kay in Cai, or Caw, and Sir Bedivere in Bedwyr.

'Did not Manawydd bring
Perforated shields from Trywruid.
. . . . .
In Mynyd Eiddyn,
He contended with Cynvyn,
. . . . .
On the strands of Trywruid
Contending with Garwlwyd.'

One of Taliessin's poems, called the *Spoils of Annwn*, records the names of seven Caers or forts, Sidi, probably Inchkeith, Pedryvan (a quadrangular Roman camp, probably Camelon, but possibly Ardoch), Vedwyd, Rigor, Golud, Vandwy (suggested as a corruption of Caer Almond, Cramond, an old Roman station on the Firth of Forth, but possibly the great Pictish stronghold of Inveralmond on the Tay), and Ochren, to which 'we went with Arthur,' and says:—

'Beyond Caer Wydyr they saw not the prowess of Arthur.'

Caer Wydyr is the 'fort of glass' or vitrified fort, and has been suggested by Sir Andrew Agnew to be Castle Gower in Buittle in Galloway, but the most of the Arthurian campaigns occurred in the region near the northern wall, and the poem may record an expedition to the wilder regions further north.

After the death of Arthur there seems to have been a renewed activity of the Pagan party both among the Britons, among whom the old cult of Druidism had been revived, and on the part of the Picts, and the Saxons of Northumbria who were reinforced by new arrivals from the Continent. The poems which Mr. Skene classifies as connected with Gwydyon ap Don and his Brithwyr (or painted men, the Picts of

Lothian) suggest a long and confused struggle with both Picts and Saxons on both frontiers, and close relations between ' the Gywddyl Ffichti ' or Picts and a party among the Britons.[1]

'Between Caer Ryan [Loch Ryan] and Caer Rywg [Sanquhar],
Between Dineiddyn [Edinburgh] and Dineiddwg [Mugdock],
A clear glance and a watchful sight.'
'From Penryn Wleth [Glasgow] to Loch Reon [Loch Ryan],
The Cymri are of one mind bold heroes.'
'Cymry, Angles, Gwyddyl of Prydyn,'
'The north has been poisoned by rovers
Of a livid, hateful hue and form';
'I have been in the battle of Godeu with Llew and Gwydyon,'
'I heard a meeting about the minstrels
With the Gwyddyl, devils, distillers,'
'Three races cruel from true disposition,
Gwyddyl, Brython, and Romani,
Create discord and confusion.'
'The conflict in the battle of Godeu of springs
Against the Guledig of Prydain,'
'The Cymry will be lamenting
While their souls will be tried
Before a horde of ravagers.'
'Let the chief builders be
Against the fierce Ffichti [the Picts],
The Morini Brython,'
'Wave of Iwerdon [Ireland] and wave of Manau, and wave of the North,
And wave of Prydain, hosts comely in fours';
'How miserable it is to see,
Tumult, commotion,
Wounds, and confusion,
The Brithwyr in motion
And a cruel fate.'

The curious passage in one of Taliessin's poems, which contains a declaration in Gaelic addressed to the Britons, may have reference to the settlement of the Scots in Scotland.

'Assuredly there will come
Five ships and five hundred
That make supplication;

[1] 'Prydain' (feminine) is word for Britain: 'Prydyn' (masculine) for (British) Scotland.

"O Brithi, Brithi!
Co-occupancy or battle,
Brithi Brithanai
Before battle, battle of spears in the field."'

In 547 the settlements of the Saxons on the east coast, from the Tees to the Forth, were formed into the kingdom of Bernicia by Ida. He was succeeded by Ella in 559, who added the district of Deira, extending to the Humber, but Bernicia remained under the rule of Ida's sons, who reigned as follows: Adda twelve years, Clappa one year to 567, Hussa to 574, Friodulph to 580, Theodric to 587, Athelric to 594, and Ethelfred, who 'more than all the chiefs of the Angles ravaged the nation of the Britons.' Four British kings—Urbgen, Riderchen, Guallauc, and Morcant—are recorded by Nennius as fighting against Hussa, and Urbgen and his sons as fighting heavily against Theodric. 'In that time,' says the annalist, 'sometimes the enemy, sometimes the citizens were vanquished.' Urbgen (the city born) is the Urien of Reged of the bards.

It was during this period of conflict that the four great poets whose verses were afterwards collected, probably systematised, and to some extent corrupted in repetition and by addition, flourished. The statement in the *Genealogia* of Nennius is quite distinct, for the author, after narrating the reign of Ida the Angle, who died in 559, says, '*Tunc Talhearn* Cataguen *in poemate claruit et Neirin et Taliessin et Bluchbard et Cian qui vocatur Gweinthgwant simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt.*' With this direct statement of the eighth century, the personal reminiscences in some of the poems, the names of the individuals mentioned in them, and their general character are quite consistent.

The Britons of Scotland were known to the Welsh as 'Gwyr y Gogledd,' or the Men of the North, and the genealogies preserved in one of the Hengwrt MS., transcribed about 1300, and the additions to Nennius of 977, show that their chiefs mainly belonged to two great families, and that in the sixth century their country was under the rule

of thirteen petty kings. The first group are all deduced from Coel Hen, from whom the district of Kyle takes its name. From his eldest son Ceneu was descended Gwendoleu, whose territory was in and about Liddesdale, and who was killed as the leader of the pagan party among the Britons at Ardderyd in 573; Eliffer Gosgordvawr—Eliffer of the great retinue—the death of whose sons, Gwrgi and Peredur is recorded in 580; Pabo Post Prydain (the pillar of Britain), and his sons, the death of one of whom, Dunawd Vawr, is recorded in 593; Cynwyd Cynwydion, two of whose sons were Clyddno Eiddin (of Caireddin or Edinburgh), and Cadrod Calchvynydd (of Kelso); Llywarch Hen; Urien Reged, son of Cynvarch and father of Owen, Elfin, and Pasgen; Caradawc and his brother Lleenawg, father of Gwallawg. From a younger son of Coel was descended Morcant. These descendants of Coel Hen form eight families, and account for eight of the thirteen kings. The other race was that of Dynfwal Hen, who in one genealogy is made the grandson of Macsen Guledig, the Roman emperor, and in another the grandson of Ceredig Guledig, the Coroticus to whom St. Patrick addressed his epistle. The grandson of Dynfwal Hen by his eldest son was Tudwal Tutclud (Tutugual or Tothail) father of Rhydderch, called Rhydderch Hael (the liberal, or Ridderch Hen (the aged); from another son descended Mordav Hael and Nudd Hael; from another Gwyddno Garanhir, father of Elfin; from another Aedan Vradog, who has been confused with but is probably a different person from Aedan, king of the Scots; and from another Elidyr Mwynvawr. These give us the remaining five petty kings, and from another son was deduced the line of the British kings of Strathclyde subsequent to Rhydderch Hael. The race of Coel (from whom Kyle took its name) was more especially associated with Ayr and the west, Caradawg and Gwallawg being specially connected with Carrawg or Carrick (named from Caradawg), and Wigtownshire. A mound at Coilsfield in Ayrshire is pointed out

by tradition as the tomb of Coel—'Old King Cole, the merry old soul'—and the standing stones of Torhouse near Wigton were known as King Galdus's (Gwallawg's) Tomb, while in Carrick the Cairns of Blackinney were 'esteemed by the most learned inhabitants to be the burial-place of King Caractacus (Caradawg).' The descendants of Dynfwal Hen were probably connected with the central districts of Annandale and Clydesdale, and it is to be noted that when St. Kentigern returned to Scotland on the triumph of the Christian party under Rhydderch Hael, he fixed his episcopal seat first at Hoddam in Annandale before proceeding to Glasgow. The Triads mention Rhydderch Hael, Mordav Hael, and Nudd Hael as 'Three generous ones of the Island of Prydain,' and at Yarrow there has been found a stone bearing a Latin inscription to the '*princeps Nudi* (*Liberali*) *Dumnogeni*'—the last word indicating his descent from the Damnonii of Ptolemy, and his two sons. In Strathgryffe or Renfrew was the seat of the family of Caw, called Caw Prydyn, who was the father of the historian Gildas. A Welsh legend states that Elydyr Mwynvaur, one of those mentioned in the *Genealogy*, was killed in North Wales, and that the Men of the North, led by Clyddno Eiddin, Nudd Hael, Mordaf Hael, and Rhydderch Hael came south to avenge him, and burned Arvon, and that Run, son of Mailgwn, and the men of Gwynned assembled in arms and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd yn y Gogledd (the Forth), where a dispute as to who should take the lead thorugh the river was decided in favour of the men of Arvon. The genealogies cannot be absolutely relied on, for they seem to include among the descendants of Dynfwal Hen Aidan and his father Gabran, who was really the grandson of Fergus Mor, the first Scottish king, and both of whom were Kings of the Scots, though Aidan's mother is said to have been Lleian, daughter of Brachan of Brecheniauc (Brecknock) in Wales, one of whose sisters was mother of Urien, another mother of Llywarch Hen, and another wife of Cadrod Calchvynydd. There is no doubt, however, that

Aidan was in close alliance with the Britons, and that the genealogies generally point to a division among them into a native and pagan or semi-pagan party in touch with the Picts, and a Roman and Christian party allied with the Scots. The pagan party appears to have been mainly led by the descendants of Coel Hen, especially Morcant and Gwendoleu; but Urien, like Arthur, was a Christian hero, and is described as 'the most generous man of baptism.' The descendants of Dynfwal Hen, who had a Roman ancestry, were on the Christian side. That there had been a great relapse from the Christianity of Roman times, and the faith taught by Ninian, among the Picts and even the Britons is evident from St. Patrick's letter to Coroticus (Ceredig), in which he terms him a tyrant who fears neither God nor His priests, and says that his people were 'no longer his fellow-citizens or the fellow-citizens of pious Romans, but the fellow-citizens of demons,' and 'the associates of Scots and apostate Picts,' the Scots referred to being those who came from Ireland before its conversion, and the landing in Argyll of a Christian colony under Fergus. It is further illustrated by the history of Kentigern His grandfather, Llew of Lothian, is called a man '*semi-paganus*,' and '*paganissimus*,' and after his first settlement at Glasgow he was scorned, despised, and slandered by 'a certain tyrant, by name Morken [Morcant ?] who had ascended the throne of the Cumbrian kingdom.' After the tyrant's death a plot to kill him by 'a generation of vipers of the kin of the aforenamed King Morken' caused his retreat to Wales between 540 and 560. In 573 the pagan and Christian parties among the Britons met in fierce conflict at Ardderyd (Arthuret) in Liddesdale, the leaders of the Christian party being Rhydderch Hael, assisted by Maelgwn of Wales, and Aidan the Scot, and the chief of the other party, Gwendoleu, who was slain, and whose name is still preserved in the Carwhinelow burn. The result of this battle, fought at the great pass into Scotland from the southern wall, was the victory of the Christian

party, the restoration of Kentigern to his labours in Strathclyde, the separation of the north to some extent from Wales, and the consolidation of the thirteen petty states into the British kingdom of Alclyde, Strathclyde, or Cumbria, with its southern frontier at the Derwent and Stanmore Cross, and its capital at Alclyde, formerly called Nevtur or Nemtur, which became known to the Gael as Dun Breatan, or the fort of the Britons. Jocelyn graphically describes how Columba came to visit Kentigern 'at the place called Mellindinor,' and how the apostles of the Scottish and British churches exchanged their pastoral staves. Adamnan, who was born only twenty years after the death of Rhydderch Hael, records that the British king on one occasion sent a secret message to St. Columba to ask whether he should be slain by his enemies, to which the reply was, 'concerning the same king and his people,' that he would not fall into the hands of his enemies, but die in his own house, a prophecy in due course fulfilled, as both he and St. Kentigern died in peace in 603.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland. By DONALD MACKINNON, M.A., Professor of Celtic Languages, etc., etc. in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable; published by William Brown, 5 Castle Street, 1912. Pp. xii+348. 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

This work, which will endure as a monument of the exact scholarship, wide erudition, and sound judgment of its author, was compiled, as the title-page indicates, 'at the instance of John, Fourth Marquess of Bute, through whose liberality it is published.' Such a catalogue has long been needed, and its publication confers a great benefit on all students of Celtic language and literature.

The collection of Gaelic Manuscripts, known as the Scottish or Advocates' Library Collection, contains, says the Introduction, nearly all that now remains of the old literature of the Gael written or preserved in Scotland, together with a considerable amount of literary *débris* written or transcribed in comparatively recent years. The collection was originated and to a large extent formed by the distinguished historian of Celtic Scotland, Dr. W. F. Skene. When he commenced, the Faculty of Advocates possessed four Gaelic MSS.; in 1862 it consisted of sixty-five. Since then it has increased to a total of one hundred and four. Dr. Skene himself prepared a catalogue

of the first sixty-five MSS., but that catalogue was hurriedly done, brief and inadequate, extending only to a few pages of print. The present detailed catalogue, it is to be noted, contains an account, not only of the Gaelic MSS. in the Advocates' Library, but also of those contained in the libraries of Edinburgh University, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the University of Glasgow, and in the Register House, Edinburgh. It contains in addition an account of MSS. in private possession, viz. in the possession of Professor Mackinnon himself, the late Dr. Henderson, Dr. Hew Morrison, Rev. John W. Macintyre, and Miss Betsy Matheson, Dornie, together with notes on MSS. lost or missing, and on MSS. of Scottish origin, on the Continent, in England, and in Canada, constituting a grand total of about one hundred and forty.

The MSS. of the Advocates' Library are classified according to subject-matter, an arrangement which, though it gives rise to overlapping, inasmuch as many of the MSS. as now bound up treat of a variety of subjects, is nevertheless conducive to ease of reference and clearness of perspective. The result is a series of highly interesting chapters, which exhibit in a more or less connected manner the subjects on which the Gael exercised their minds and the style of their treatment. The section of medicine makes it perfectly clear that the famous Beatons, and other physicians whose names are not so generally known, were men of wide learning and of independent judgment, who, though they might be Islesmen, were far removed from insularity. From a linguistic point of view, the success of the writers in dealing with so many technical terms is worthy of note, as showing how very much alive the language was at that period; showing also that Gaelic could under favourable circumstances have developed in science a vocabulary as rich as it has developed in theology. Another notable chapter is that dealing with Gaelic versions of classical epics. The Gaels, says Professor Mackinnon, seem to have been the first to turn the great epics of antiquity into a modern tongue. Their favourite was the *Togail Troi*, the Destruction of Troy, which they treated, in their own characteristic manner, as a Gaelic tale, expanding and compressing as they saw fit. The aim is to construct a Gaelic tale based on the classical epic. The Scottish MSS. contain versions, more or less complete, of the *Thebaid* of Statius, the *Togail Troi*, and the *Pharsalia* of Lucan. Many interesting pieces of old Gaelic tradition come under the headings 'Legend and Lore' and 'History and Genealogy' sections, which occupy 48 pp. and 23 pp. of the *Catalogue* respectively. One of the most important of the former, the Glenmasan MS., dealing with the Tale of the Sons of Uisneach and Deirdre, has been printed by Professor Mackinnon in *The Celtic Review*.

A particular account is given of three MSS. One of them, MS. XXXII., has been amissing for many years, having been last heard of in 1841. It dealt mainly with the great Gaelic epic tale, *Tain Bo Cualnge*. The second, MS. XXXV., is temporarily amissing. It was reported on by Dr. Smith. The third, MS. XXXVII., is well known as the Dean of Lismore's Book,

which was transliterated by the great Gaelic scholar, Ewen M'Lachlan of Aberdeen, and subsequently edited, with translation and notes, by Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan. Through the liberality of Miss A. F. Yule of Tarradale, a transcript of the whole MS., by a master of the handwriting of the period, is available for reference in the Advocates' Library, so as to spare the original as far as possible. Mr. E. C. Quiggin, of Cambridge, has made an exhaustive examination of the Dean's MS., the results of which are now being printed. One important feature of Mr. Quiggin's work will be the distinction of poems in the MS. that are of purely Irish origin from those that distinctively relate to Scotland.

Of MSS. contained in Scottish libraries outside of Edinburgh, the most important are the Fernaig MS. and the Maclagan Collection in the University of Glasgow, and the second transcript, by Ewen M'Lachlan, of the Dean of Lismore's Book.

Unfortunately many MSS. of Scottish Gaelic origin have found their way out of the country. The Book of Deer is in Cambridge. The oldest book now existing which can be proved to have been written in Scotland, a copy of Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, transcribed by *Dorbeneus*, who died as Abbot-elect of Iona in 713, is now in the public library of Schaffhausen, in Germany. Surely no worthier object of private munificence and patriotism could be found than the restoration of this venerable, and to us priceless, relic to Scotland, its proper home. Others are lost, it is to be feared, for ever. Among these Professor Mackinnon mentions specially three, viz.: (1) the Records of the Isles, kept by M'Phee of Colonsay, the disappearance of which is a national misfortune; (2) a translation of great part of the Old Testament into Scottish Gaelic done before the end of 1660, also a very great loss to Scottish Gaelic literature; (3) Farquharson's Collection of Gaelic Poetry. Father Farquharson was Prefect of the College of Douay. His collection was specially rich in Ossianic poetry, and when Macpherson's *Ossian* appeared, he compared Macpherson's English version with his own MS., and was delighted to find the latter superior and fuller. The last heard of it is that the students used its leaves to light their fires.

From a national point of view it is regrettable that among the Gaelic MSS. that have found a home in this country there are not more that are distinctively Scottish in character and subject. One cannot fail to be struck with the bulk of the Irish element. This is no doubt to be accounted for in part by the close connection that existed between the Gael of Ireland and of Scotland, and especially of the west of Scotland, up to the time of the Reformation. It is difficult, however, to resist the conclusion that fate has dealt unkindly with our national literature and records. Professor Mackinnon has drawn attention to the disappearance of the records of the kingdom of the Isles, which probably perished owing to the misfortunes of their custodian, MacPhee of Colonsay. The Norsemen doubtless wrought havoc among the records of Iona and of Applecross, and other western and northern monasteries, and we know that their depredations extended else-

where, as for instance to Dunkeld. But it may well be supposed that much distinctively Scottish material was lost during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the period when the organisation of the ancient Celtic Church was finally overturned, and the diocesan system was established in place of the monastic. The records of the Celtic establishments of Tarbat and Rosemarkie in Easter Ross, and of Deer in Buchan, may have been destroyed by Norsemen, but that cannot have happened to those of St. Andrews, Lochleven, and Monymusk. There can be little doubt that in these and in many other cases the reason for the disappearance of Gaelic records was simply lack of interest on the part of the men of the new régime, who knew not the language—the same cause that led to the destruction of Father Farquharson's MS. at Douay. It is significant that the tracts relating to the ancient history of Scotland, printed by Skene in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, are in Latin, which is obviously translated from a Gaelic original. Would this matter have survived had it not been translated?

Students of this *Catalogue* will not fail to recognise the difficulty and complexity of the task which the compiler set himself to achieve, nor will they fail to admire the full, minute, and clear manner in which it has been accomplished. The work demanded one who was not only intimate with the MSS. and their contents, but who was also master of Gaelic literature, tradition, and history. There is cause for congratulation that it has found the one and only man able to do it justice. W. J. WATSON.

DR. MACBAIN'S *ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY*

Mr. Eneas Mackay, Stirling, writes as follows :—'With reference to the review of the second edition of the late Dr. MacBain's *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, which you published in the last number of your Magazine, I regret being obliged to ask you to be good enough to correct in your next issue the following mistakes, namely—the title of the book is "Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language" not "English," the publisher's name is "Eneas" not "Æneas," and the price is "12*s.* 6*d.*" not "10*s.* 6*d.*" I shall also expect you to annul in a satisfactory manner the implication made that I in my contract with the late Dr. MacBain was limited in my choice of editors to any one person or number of persons. This is conveyed in the following clause from the review in question, viz.: "the present edition did not receive the editing the author wished and meant it to receive."'

We much regret the errors to which Mr. Mackay draws our attention. The 'implication' referred to was in no way intended. Mr. Mackay was perfectly free to select whom he pleased as editor of the *Dictionary*. We add our Reviewer's remarks on the subject :—"The words taken exception to but not quoted correctly in the letter occur in the last sentence of the review, and are said to convey an implication that the publisher in his contract with the late Dr. MacBain was limited in his choice of editors to any one person or number of persons. I intended no such implication as is thus ascribed to me, and fail to see how such a construction can be put upon my words.

C. M. R."

Ed. *C. R.*

Owing to the holiday season the summer issue of the REVIEW *has been, as formerly, held over till now, but subscribers and others may depend on getting the four numbers within the year.*

573

THE CELTIC REVIEW
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THE BRITISH RACE AND KINGDOM IN SCOTLAND

JAMES FERGUSON

II

DURING the latter part of the sixth century the Britons and Scots are found constantly fighting side by side against the pagan Saxons and semi-pagan Picts, and the prominent position occupied by Aidan the Scot has led to the suggestion that he was recognised for the time as the Guledig or commander-in-chief of the allied armies. The same period was that of Urien of Reged, and Gwallawg, and the poems contain many references to their achievements and those of others of their race. Thus Gwydno Garanhir is associated with the Tay:—

> 'It is not the nearest Tawy I speak of to thee
> But the furthest Tawy,'

and with 'a conflict before Caer Vandwy,' while the lines of Taliessin appear to refer either to Cramond, Caeredin (Carriden or Blackness), or Caer Gofannon (probably Dalmeny).

> 'A pleasant caer there is on the surface of the ocean,
> A wave will come in haste, speed unto it,
> That will bring them to the green sward from the region of the Ffichti.'

The deaths of various heroes are referred to by the bard, who said:—

> 'I have been in the place where was killed Gwendoleu
> The son of Ceiddiaw, the pillar of songs,
> When the ravens screamed over blood.
> . . . . . .

I have been where Llachau was slain,
The son of Arthur extolled in songs.
. . . . . .
I have not been where Gwallawg was killed,
The son of Goholeth the accomplished,
The resister of Lloegyr the son of Lleenawg.
. . . . . .
I have been where the soldiers of Prydain were slain,
From the east to the north;
I am alive, they in their graves.
. . . . . .
I have been where the soldiers of Prydain were slain,
From the east to the south;
I am alive, they in death.'

In the *Triads of the Horses* are mentioned the chargers of Owen and Pasgen, sons of Urien, of Rhydderch Hael, of Cai and Caradawg, and in the *Verses of the Graves* it is said :—

'In Carrawg is the grave of Gwallawg Hir (the tall).'
'The grave of Cynon is in Ryd Reon (Cairn Ryan),'
'The grave of the son of Osvran is in Camlan,'
'The grave of Owain ab Urien, in a secluded part of the world,
Under the sod of Llan Morvael,
In Abererch that of Rhydderch Hael';
'The grave of the three serene persons on an elevated hill
In the valley of Gwyn Gwynionawg [probably Gwenystrad or Wedale on the Gala].
Mor, and Meilyr [a son of Brwyn or Brachan of Brecheniauc], and Madawg [grandson of Urien].'
'The grave of Llew Llawgyffes under the protection of the sea
With which he was familiar.'
'A mystery to the world the grave of Arthur.'

The lament in his old age of Llywarch Hen, who says that the men of Argoed have supported me, Argoed being the north-eastern part of Reged near Loch Lomond, records the deaths of his sons, Gwen, the favourite of his father, at the ford of Morlas, Pyll on the banks of the Ffraw, and others in Wales.

Of Gwallawg it is said that he will defend the pleasant plain of Lleenawg; and an obscure reference to 'the bush of Maw and Eiddyn' seems to indicate fighting in Lothian. The poet records 'a battle in Agathes in defence' (suggested

by Skene to be Irongath hill near Linlithgow and by Sir A. Agnew to be Cairn Agathe in New Luce), 'a battle in the region of Bretrwyn' (Troon in Ayrshire), 'a battle of trembling in Aeron' (identified by Skene with the Avon in Linlithgow and by Agnew with Glen Iron in Galloway), 'a battle in Arddunion and Aeron' (Arddunion being supposed by Skene to be Ardinning near Mugdock in Strathblane), 'a battle in the wood of Beit at the close of the day' (supposed by Skene to be Beith in Ayrshire and by Agnew Beoch, overlooking Loch Ryan), 'a battle in the presence of Mabon' (near Lochmaben in Dumfriesshire), 'a battle in Gwensteri and thou subduest Lloegyr' (possibly Gwenystrad or Wedale on the frontier of the Saxons who are thus termed by the Welsh), 'a battle in the marsh of Terra with the dawn' (the marsh of Glenterra in Wigtonshire crossed by stepping-stones, where 'the standing stones of Glenterra' probably record a battle of old), and a battle in which 'he will lay the Peithwyr prostrate' at 'the end of the wood of Cleddyfein' or Cludven (probably the holy wood on the Cluden where there were also eleven large stones placed in an oval form near 'the termination of the Sacred Grove'). The antagonists in this battle were evidently the Picts of Galloway. That the territory of Gwallawg was in Ayrshire is clearly indicated by Taliessin when he says :—

> 'They shall pledge the rich plains
> From Caer Clud to Caer Caradawg
> The support of the land of Penprys and Gwallawg.'

Of none of the Cymric heroes do the bards speak more enthusiastically than of Urien of Reged.

> 'Urien of Reged generous he is and will be,
> He, proud in the hall, has the most widespreading sword
> Among the thirteen kings of the north.'

He is described as 'the supreme Guledig, the splendid prince of the North,' and it is said that 'the men of Catraeth arose with the dawn about the Guledig.'

'If there is a cry on the hill
Is it not Urien that terrifies?
If there is a cry in the valley
Is it not Urien that pierces?
If there is a cry on the mountain
Is it not Urien that conquers?
If there is a cry on the slope,
Is it not Urien that wounds?
If there is a sigh on the dyke,
Is it not Urien that is active?
A cry of a journey over the plain,
A cry in every meandering vale.'

Some of the battles in which Urien took part appear to be the same as those in which Gwallawg fought. Taliessin describes as an eyewitness a fierce battle 'in defending Gwenystrad,' speaks of

'The men of Prydain hurtful in battle array
At Gwenystrad continuously offerers of battle,'

And tells how

'Hand on the cross they wait on the gravel bank of Garanwynyon,'

And how

'I saw a brow covered with rage on Urien
When he furiously attacked his foes at the white stone
Of Galystem.'

According to the *Statistical Account* there was, a little above St. Mary's Church of Stow, near the Lady's Well, a huge stone which used to be pointed out as impressed with the print of the Virgin Mary's foot. This battle was therefore in the same place as that fought by Arthur, and the references to it point to a determined defence by the Cymry of their frontier on the Gala against the invading Angles. The curious work called the Catrail runs from the Gala to the Liddell, and probably marked the frontier after Kelso and the lower Tweed had been lost, and it is significant that at both ends were the scenes of bloody battles with the Angles of Bernicia. Urien is described as 'the ruler of Catraeth,' as 'a protector in Aeron,' and as 'coming

in the day to Aeron when Ulph (probably Friodulph of Bernicia) came with violence.' He is described as 'ruddy stained from the conflict with Ulph at the ford,' as 'shield in hand Godeu and Reged protecting' (Godeu being probably the district about Cadzow in Lanarkshire), and there are enumerated

> 'A battle in the ford of Alclud, a battle at the Inver,
> The battle of Cellawr Brewyn, the battle of Hireurir,
> A battle in the underwood of Cadleu, a battle in Aberioed,
> The battle of Cludvein, the affair of the head of the wood.'

Taliessin mentions having received from Urien the lands of Llywenydd, or Lennox, and a poem called the 'Affair of Argoed Llwyfain' records a determined invasion by Theodric 'the flame-bearer' of the territories of Urien, gallantly repulsed by him and his son Owain.

> 'Flamdwyn hastened in four hosts,
> Godeu and Reged to overwhelm,
> They extended from Argoed to Arvynyd,
> They retained not life during one day.
> . . . . . .
> And because of the affair of Argoed Llwyfain,
> There was many a corpse,
> The ravens were red from the warring of men,
> And the common people hurried with the tidings.'

Other poems record the death of Urien, said to have been killed by Llovan Llawdivro at the instigation of Morcant—one of the 'three detested assassinations of the island of Britain' recorded in the Triads—an expedition of his son Owain to the country of Mabon for the recovery of the kine of his father, and the death of Owain in battle at the hand of Flamdwyn. Llywarch Hen apparently, for he exclaims, 'Woe is me that my cousin is slain,' describes himself as bearing

> 'A head from the bordering land of Penawg,
> . . . . . .
> He that overcame the land of Bryneich,
> . . . . . .

A head the most powerful pillar of Prydain,

. . . . . .

Woe to Reged from this day

. . . . . .

The son of Cynvarch the father of Owain
In Aber Lleu has Urien been slain.'

The poems relating to the battle of Ardderyd consist of a metrical dialogue between Taliessin and Myrddin, of which the authorship is claimed by the latter, and of the *Avallenau* (or apple-tree), a poem attributed to, or at least placed in the mouth of, Myrddin, but the *Avallenau* deals with events that preceded and that followed Ardderyd as well as with that conflict. Merlin is described as refusing to sleep and 'trembling on account of my leader, my Lord Gwendoleu, and those who are natives of my country,' and as suffering disease and longing grief about the woods of Celyddon.

To the same age as that which witnessed the battle of Ardderyd must be assigned the earlier contest commemorated in the remarkable poem called the *Gododin*, attributed to Aneurin, and of which the first part was probably composed by him, the latter portion being added by a later hand, and comprising events that happened at a later period. Another poem dealing with the same events is assigned to Taliessin, and other pieces termed *Gorchans* deal with particular heroes and incidents of the same struggle. In the identification of the battle of Catraeth which these poems commemorate valuable assistance is obtained from the entries in the Irish Annals relating to King Aidan. The Scots and Britons were in close alliance, and even drew aid from Ireland, for it is said in one of the Irish MS. that Baedan, son of Cairill, king of Ulster, who died in 581, cleared Manann of Galls or strangers (*i.e.* Saxons), and that the second year after his death the Gael abandoned Manann. In 583 is recorded the battle of Manann by Aidan, in which he was victorious, and in 596 the battle of Chirchind, in which four of his sons were slain, and to which Adamnan, who calls it 'the battle of the

Miathi' (Meatae or southern Picts), refers when he tells that Columba in Iona 'suddenly said, "Ring the bell," and the brethren proceeded to the church, where Columba addressed them: "Let us pray now earnestly to the Lord for this people and King Aidan, for they are engaging in battle at this moment," and after a short time, going out of the oratory and looking up to heaven, said, "The barbarians are fleeing now, and to Aidan is given the victory, a sad one though it be," and "declared the number of the slain in Aidan's army to be three hundred and three men."' The poem of the *Gododin* places the leadership of the Britons under one described as Mynyddawg Mywnvaur, or 'the most courteous mountaineer,' and states that his retinue of three chiefs and three hundred men were cut off to a man. Mr. Skene identifies the Mynyddawg as Aidan, and the locality of the chief battle as at Carriden or Blackness on the Forth where the Roman wall terminated, and where there was an *antiquissima civitas Britonum*, apparently the *Inys Eiddin yn y Gogled* of the Welsh *Bonedd y Saint*. It was on the confines of Calatria, which seems then to have been British, and of Gododin or Manau Gododin, which was mainly occupied by the Brithwyr, Peithwyr, Cathbreith, or Picts. The poems contain distinct references to a great rampart, probably the Roman wall, and to the immediate neighbourhood as Mordei, which must have been on the shore, from the line

'The watery front of the Mordei.'

While in one is the expression,

'In Mordei Uffin,
In the seas of Gododin.'

The combatants were on the one side the Britons of the north, aided by Aidan and his Scots, and probably also by a contingent from Wales, as at least one chief is mentioned as 'sent from the southern region,' and Hyfeidd Hir, who, under the designation of Caeawg or 'man of the enclosure,' is one of the principal leaders, is elsewhere described as a king in Deheubarth or South Wales, and others apparently

were Welsh Britons, while the poem distinctly refers to three hosts acting together in generous emulation. The enemy consisted of the Bedin Gododin, or host of Gododin, the Pictish array, and of the Angles of Bernicia and Deira, who seem to have frequently acted in co-operation with the Picts both of central Scotland and of Galloway. It seems probable that the British army was at first surprised, for their great loss is attributed to indulgence in the mead of the Mordei previous to the battle. The advance of the Pictish and British armies is described :—

'The men went to Gododin, laughing as they moved,
A gloomy disaster befell their army,
. . . . . .
The men went to Catraeth, loquacious was their host,
Fresh mead was their feast and also their poison.'

Five battalions of the Men of Deivyr and Brenneich are said to have fallen before the blades of Hyfeidd Hir, and of the Scoto-British and Christian army, 'with blades full of vigour in defence of Baptism,' it is said :—

'There hastened not to Catraeth
A chief so magnificent,
As to his design on the standard.
Never was there such a host
From the fort of Eiddyn
That would scatter abroad the mounted ravagers.
Tudvwlch Hir near his land and towns
Slaughtered the Saxons for seven days.
His valour remained until he was overpowered.
. . . . . .
Bright was the horn
In the hall of Eiddyn.
. . . . . .
Three forward [chiefs or bands] of Novant,
A battalion of five hundred,
Three chiefs and three hundred,
There are three knights of battle.
From Eiddyn arrayed in golden armour
Three loricated hosts,
Three kings wearing the golden torques,
Three bold knights
Three equal battles

Three of the same were mutually jealous
Bitterly would they chase the foe,
. . . . . .
Three sovereigns of the people
Came from the Brython.
Cynri and Cenon
And Cynrain from Aeron,
To greet with ashen lances
The Deivyr distillers.'

In one of the other poems the allusions occur:—

'Let the Caer of Eiddyn deplore
The dead and illustrious men clothed in splendid blue.
Courteous was the great retinue of the wall, of ashen spears.
. . . . . .
No more can they extricate themselves
Before the Barrier of Eiddyn.'

And other expressions suggest a pursuit as far as Edinburgh, which appears to have been held by the enemy:—

'They lay hid before Eiddyn the lofty hill,
And of as many as he found none returned.
. . . . . .
When the strangers came from Dineiddyn.'

While the names of British districts are preserved in the lines:—

'He will merit Carawg
Of the many citied Cymry.
. . . .
Or shall it come from Aeron,
Or Coel or Canawon?'

All the poems of this period point to a prolonged contest in which the Britons, with the aid of the Scots, appear to have held their own, and generally maintained their position as far as the line of the Gala and Kelso in the south. That the contest was a fierce one is evident from more than one allusion to 'the playing of ball-buffeting with Saxon heads,' and such expressions as:—

'Fury against the Anges is just;
It is right to kill; it is right to crush those who are crushing.'

At the commencement of the seventh century, the tide of fortune turned. In the year 603 a determined effort seems to have been made by the Britons and Scots to arrest

the growing Saxon power by an attack on Northumbria. The armies met at a place called by Bede Degsastane, in which may be recognised Dawstaneburn and Dawstanerig, where the great rampart of the Catrail, which may by this time have been the frontier between the Britons and Angles, crosses the upper part of Liddesdale, and where monumental stones are found. Although an Irish ally succeeded in cutting off a body of Saxon troops and killing their commander, King Aedilfrid of Northumbria's brother, the Scoto-British army under Aidan was so completely defeated, that Bede, writing nearly a hundred and thirty years later, says none of the kings of the Scots afterwards ventured to come in battle against the Angles. Ten years later the defeat of the Welsh by Aedilfrid in the battle of Caerlegion or Chester appears to have placed the coast of Cheshire and Lancashire in Saxon hands, and cut off the Britons north of the Derwent from their kinsfolk in Wales. In 627 occurred the conversion by Paulinus of the Northumbrian Saxons, then ruled by Aeduin, to Christianity; and the same king, who has been supposed to have left his name in the modern Edinburgh, by conquering the Picts of Lothian extended the frontiers of the Anglic kingdom from the Esk to the Avon. The advance of the Saxons to the Lancashire coast seems to have placed them in communication with the Picts of Galloway, or Galwyddel, as they are termed by the Welsh poets, and a close alliance directed against the Britons, which lasted for a hundred and seventy years, practically made Galloway a dependency of the Saxon kingdom. The British kingdom of the north now stretched from the Clach na Breatan, or stone of the Britons, in Glenfalloch and the Forth to the Derwent and Stanmore Cross, and embraced the whole of south-western Scotland and northern Cumberland from the Catrail to the sea with the exception of Pictish Galloway, from which it was separated by the Nith and the Picts' Dyke. The consolidation of this kingdom was probably assisted by the revival of Cymric energy and success under Cadwallawn,

king of North Wales, who had taken refuge in Ireland after being expelled by Aeduin, but returned, and, entering into alliance with Penda of Mercia, proved the most formidable foe the Angles of Northumbria had yet encountered. In 633 Cadwallawn and Penda defeated and killed Aeduin in a great battle in Yorkshire called by Bede Haethfeld (Hatfield) and by Nennius Meicen. Cadwallawn subsequently encountered and killed Osric, the cousin of Aeduin, who succeeded him in Deira, and Eanfrid, the eldest son of Aeduin's predecessor Aedilfrid, who had returned from refuge among the Northern Picts, and the British king ruled for a year with 'outrageous tyranny' over the Northumbrian kingdom.

In 634, however, Osuald, the brother of Eanfrid, whose exile had been passed with the Scots in Iona, returned, and defeated and killed the British commander at a place near Hexham, called by Bede Hevenfelth, and by Nennius Catscaul (or the battle of the wall). It has been supposed that the slain Briton was Cadwallawn himself, but it seems more probable that he was a subordinate chief of similar though different name. Cadwallawn seems to have survived for some years, and was succeeded by his son Cadwalader. The parish of Kirkoswald in Carrick is said to take its name from a church founded there by Osuald, king of Northumbria, in commemoration of a victory, which would suggest that he must have carried his arms into Ayrshire. He reigned for eight years. The successes of Cadwallawn led to a great revival of patriotic spirit among the Britons, and it is thought that to that period the embodiment of the old Welsh poems in the earlier forms that have come down to us is to be attributed. They treat specially of the part of Cadwallawn in the south, and of Cadwalader as the hope of the race; and although there are not many distinct references to the Britons of the north, the following passages indicate that they had their share in the revived prosperity, and that there was a renewal of relations between them and the Gaelic Scots of Britain and Ireland:—

'The revenge of Idwal on Aranwynion,
And playing at ball with heads of Saxons,
There will be troubled the Cat Vreith with its strange language
From the ford at Taradyr [Torrator on the Carron] as far as Porth Wygyr in Mona.

. . . . . .

The contention of men even to Caer Weir [Durham], the dispersion of the Allmyn [Germans, Saxons].

. . . . . .

They made great rejoicing after exhaustion,
And the reconciling of the Cymry and the men of Dublin,
The Gwyddyl of Iwerdon, Mona, and Prydyn,
Cornwall and Clydemen their compact with them,
The men of the north at the entry surrounding them.

. . . . . .

There will come from Alclud men, bold, faithful,
To drive from Prydain bright armies,

. . . . . .

Until Cadwalader comes from the conference of Ryd Rheon [Ford of Loch Ryan].'

The alliance between the Scots and Britons in the north had not only been broken, but was followed by hostilities. In 634 Domnall Breac, the grandson of Aidan, who incurred the penalty pronounced by St. Columba on 'acting unjustly towards me and my kin' by joining the Irish Picts against the parent royal race of Ireland, is found also at war with the Britons. The Irish Annals record in 634 a battle 'in Calathros,' in which Donald Breac was vanquished, and in 638 a battle in Glenmairison, in which the people of Donald Breac fled, and the siege of Etain (Edinburgh). Calathros was Calatria or Catraeth, and Glenmairison appears to be the Mureston Water, in the vicinity of West and Midcalder, between which and the Almond are four barrows or tumuli, near which, according to tradition, a great battle was fought in early times between the Picts and Scots. In 642 the same annals record that Donald Breac was slain in the battle of Strathcauin (or otherwise Sraith Cairinn, *i.e.* Strathcarron) by Oan, King of the Britons. To this battle it is evident that some of the verses in the later portions of the *Gododin* refer, espe-

cially the stanza the first line of which has been translated, 'I beheld the array from the high land of Adoyn,' but of which the corrected reading runs :—

'I saw the array that came from Pentir [Kintyre];
It was as victims for the sacrifice they descended :
I saw two out of their town they did fall,
And the men of Nwython brought destruction.
I saw the men beaten or wounded who came with the dawn,
And the head of Dyvynwal Vrych, ravens devoured it.'

Oan is evidently the Eugein Ancatlin in the Welsh genealogies of the subsequent kings of Strathclyde, the son of Beli, and grandson of Neithon, who is obviously referred to, his men being the Strathclyde Britons, while the Ulster Annals mention in 649 a war between 'the grandson of Naedan' and Gartnait, son of Accidan. The 'Dindywyd in Dyvnwydd,' from which 'a splendid troop of warriors were successful against a myriad of men' is spoken of as coming, may possibly be Dunadd, the capital of the Dalriadic Scots.

The descent of the kings of Strathclyde is thus given in the Welsh genealogies. Clinog, one of the sons of Dyfnwal Hen, was the father of Tudwal Tutclud, whose son Rhydderch Hael is the first recorded king. He seems to have left no descendants, and those of Guipno, another son of Dyfnwal Hen, succeeded. The pedigree is thus given, though in 658 the Annals of Ulster record the death of Gureit, king of Alochcluaithe, who does not appear in it.

GUIPNO
|
NEITHON
|
BELI — He appears to have been the father of Brude Mac Bile king of the Picts, the fathers of whose kings were often of another race, and who died in 693.
|
EUGEIN — The Owen or Oan who slew Donald Breac in 642.
|
ELFIN — In 694 the death of Domnall Mac Auin king of Alochluaithe who does not appear in the pedigree is recorded in the Irish Annals.
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BELI	In 722 the Irish Annals record the death of Beli filius Elfin Rex Alochluaithe.
TEUDUBR	In 750 the Irish Annals again record the death of Teudubr filius Beli Rex Alochluaithe.
DUNNAGUAL	In 760 the Welsh Annals record the death of Dunnagual son of Teudubr.
EUGEIN	
RIDERCH	
ARTHGAL	In 872 the Irish Annals record the death of Arthga king of the Britons.
RUN	In 878 Echodius son of Run the king of the Britons is mentioned in the Pictish chronicle.

In the same year as that of the battle of Strathcarron the Saxon king Osuald, who had reigned for nine years, had introduced the Columban clergy under Bishop Aidan to his dominions, had united Deira and Bernicia into one kingdom of Northumbria, and had re-established the supremacy of his crown over Britons, Picts, Scots, and Angles to the same extent as his predecessor Aeduin, was defeated and killed by Penda of Mercia. He was succeeded by his brother Oswy, with whom Penda and the Britons carried on so successful a war that in the year 654 he was obliged to take refuge in the insular city of Giudi in the Firth of Forth, and compelled, according to Bede, to offer to Penda a large gift of royal ornaments and money to purchase peace, which Penda refused, and resolved to destroy and extirpate all his nation. Shortly afterwards, however, Oswy raised a small force, fell unexpectedly on the camp of Penda in the night, and routed his army, Penda himself and thirty royal commanders who were with him being slain, Catgabail, king of North Wales, alone escaping. Bede says that this battle was fought near the river Winuaed, which overflowed its banks, and the war was thus brought to a conclusion in the region of Loidis, a name sometimes used for Lothian. The continuator of Nennius states that Penda was slain in the field of Gai, and

'now was made the *Strages Gai campi*, and the kings of the Britons were killed who had gone out with Penda as far as the city which is called Judeu. This Oswy surrendered all the riches which were with him in the city as far as in Manau, to Penda, and Penda distributed them to the kings of the Britons, that is *Atbret Judeu*. But Catgabail alone, king of the Gwenedotian region, escaped with his army, arising by night, on account of which he was called Catgabail Catguommed ("the battle seizer who battle declines").' The word Winuaed means Battle-ford, the river was probably the Avon, which divided Lothian from Calatria or Catraeth, and traces of the battle may be discovered in 'the Fechtin' Ford,' and 'the Red Ford,' situated a mile and a mile and a half above Manuel, while the *Gai campus* of the British historian is simply a Latin rendering of the British word Catraeth.

The results of this decisive victory were very far-reaching. Bede says that Oswy subdued and made tributary the greater part of the nations of the Picts and Scots who possess the northern parts of Britain, and the sway of the Angles over the Britons of Alclyde, the Scots, and the southern Picts lasted for thirty years. Tighernac records no king of Alclyde till 694, and the Ulster Annals are also blank after mentioning the death of Gureit in 658. In 664 the Council of Whitby resulted in Oswy and his people conforming to the Roman rule; and in 670 Oswy was succeeded by his son Ecgfrid. After some unsuccessful attempts by the Picts and Scots to throw off the Anglic yoke, the defeat and slaughter of Ecgfrid and his army by Brude Mac Bile, king of the Picts, at Dunnichen in 685, produced results almost as important as those of the victory of Oswy. Bede records that the Picts recovered their territory (*i.e.* that north of the Firth of Forth) which the Angles had held, and the Scots who were in Britain and a certain part of the Britons regained their liberty, which he says they have now enjoyed for about forty-six years. An attempt of the Picts of Manann in 711 to re-

cover their freedom was defeated with great slaughter between the rivers Hæfe (Avon) and Cære (Carron). The certain part of the Britons who regained their liberty appear to have been those of the part of Alclyde comprised within the bounds of modern Scotland, for the Angles retained possession of Pictish Galloway, and apparently also of the British territory in England between the Derwent and the Solway, where Ecgfrid had in 684 given Carlisle to St. Cuthbert. It is an interesting fact that dedications to St. Kentigern, the chief saint of the Scottish Britons, begin at the river Derwent, which now divides the diocese of Chester from that of Carlisle, and the see of Carlisle seems to have been carved out of the ancient diocese of Kentigern. In 694 Donald Mac Auin, king of Alclyde, died, and was succeeded by his nephew Bile, son of Alpin or Elfin.

The Britons of Alclyde and the Scots at this time again came into hostile relations on their frontiers. Tighernac in 711 records a conflict between the Britons and the Dalriads at Loirgeclat (probably Loch Arklet, near Loch Lomond), where the Britons were defeated; and in 717 a conflict of the Dalriads and the Britons at the stone which is called Minvircc, and the Britons were defeated. This stone was probably at the place called Clach na Breatan, or stone of the Britons, in Glenfalloch, where Perthshire and Dumbartonshire meet, and which originally marked the northern boundary of the British kingdom.

The death of Bile, son of Alpin, king of Alclyde, is recorded in 722; and when Bede closed his history in 731 with a review of the existing situation, he wrote of the Cymric race: 'The Britons, though they for the most part, through domestic hatred, are averse to the nation of the Angles, and wrongfully and from wicked custom oppose the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic Church, yet, from both the Divine and the human power firmly withstanding them, they can in no way prevail as they desire; for though in part they are their own masters, yet partly they are also brought under subjection to the

Angles.' Shortly after the four races of Scotland are again found in their old attitude, the Saxons and Picts acting in alliance against the Scots and Britons. The rise of Angus mac Fergus, the most powerful of the Pictish monarchs, was destined to prove nearly as disastrous to the kingdom of Alclyde as it was to the Scots of Argyll. Simeon of Durham, who when he uses the word Pict generally means the Picts of Galloway, records that in 744 a battle was fought between the Picts and the Britons, and this was apparently followed by combined attacks from the Saxons on the south and the Picts on the north. The Chronicle annexed to Bede states that in 750 Eadberct, king of Northumbria, added to his kingdom the plain of Cyil (Kyle) with other regions. This attack was apparently made from Galloway, and the other regions were probably the rest of Ayrshire, including Carrick on the south and Cunningham on the north. In the same year a battle was fought between the Picts and the Britons at Mocetauc (Mugdock in Strathblane), in which Talorgan, the brother of Angus Mac Fergus was slain, and there was ' a slaughter of the Picts with him.' Two years later is recorded the death of Teudubr, son of Bile, King of Alclyde, and in 756 Eadbercht and Angus united their forces and led an army to Alclyde, where they received the surrender of the Britons on the first day of August. But the chronicler (Simeon of Durham) relates that ' on the tenth day of the same month almost the whole army perished which Eadbercht was leading from Ouania (probably Avendale or Strathaven in the Clyde valley) to Niwanbrig, that is, to the new city.' When in 760 the death of Dunnagual, son of Teudubr, is recorded, he is not termed king of Alclyde, and it would appear that the nation came for a second time under subjection to the Angles.

Eadbercht abdicated in 758, and a period of internal dissension in the Anglic kingdom succeeded, while the death of Angus Mac Fergus in 761 was followed by a recuperation on the part of the Dalriad Scots under Aed Finn, who in

768 fought a battle in Fortrenn against Ciniod, king of the Picts. The burning of Alclyde in January 780 is recorded in the Annals of Ulster, but they are silent as to whether it was the result of capture. Towards the end of the century a new force appeared on the scene in the Danish and Norwegian pirates who harassed the Northumbrian coast and the Western Isles. It seems probable that these events were in the first instance favourable to the interests of the Britons of western Scotland, and that they regained their independence. In the year 816 the male line of the kings of Wales failed, and again the north appears to have given a dynasty to Cumbria, for the heiress married Mervyn Frych 'from the land of Manann,' a descendant of Llywarch Hen, and from him came the line of the later Princes of Wales. The conquest of the Picts by the Scots, and accession of Kenneth Macalpine to the Pictish throne of Scone in 850 seems also to have been an influence in their favour, for his daughter was the wife of Run, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, while her sisters were married one to Olaf the White, the Norwegian king of Dublin, and the other to the Celtic king of Ireland.

The Britons were not, however, to escape the fate that had overtaken their old enemies the Angles and the Picts. The Ulster Annals record that in 870 Alclyde was besieged by the Northmen under Amlaiph (Olaf) and Imhair, and destroyed after a four months' siege. Another annalist tells that after having wasted the people who were in the citadel by hunger and thirst, and succeeded in drawing off the water from the well that was in it, the Northmen entered upon them, and first carried off all the riches that were within it, and afterwards a great host of prisoners were brought into captivity. In the following year Amlaiph and Imhair returned to Dublin with two hundred ships, and a great booty of men—Angles, Britons, and Picts. Two years later, in 872, the Annals of Ulster state that Artgha, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, was slain by the counsel of Constantin, the king of the Scots, Arthga

being Arthgal, descendant of Dunnagual, whose death was recorded in 760, and father of Run, who married Kenneth's daughter, the sister of Constantin. This is the first appearance of the designation the kingdom of Strathclyde, and a conflict resulting in the death of Arthgal seems to be alluded to in the (so called) Prophecy of St. Berchan when, in referring to the battles fought by Constantin, he says :—

> 'The hazard through which three battles we gained
> Against the Gentiles of pure colour [the Fingall],
> The fourth battle, the battle of Luaire,
> Against the king of the Britons of green standard.'

In 875 Simeon of Durham states that the Danes, after laying waste Northumbria, under Halfdan, and wintering near the Tyne destroyed the Picts (probably of Galloway) and the people of Strathclyde; while the Ulster Annals record a conflict between the Picts and the Dubhgall, in which a great slaughter of the Picts was made. The Britons are in the Saxon Chronicle called the Strǽcled Wealas, and by Ethelwerd the Cumbri, which is the first occasion on which the term Cumbri or Cumbrians is applied to them. Arthgal appears to have been succeeded by his son Run, and on the death of Aedh, king of the Scots and Picts, youngest son of Kenneth Macalpine, in 878, an event followed which proved advantageous to the Britons of Strathclyde. The heir, by the Scottish law of Tanistry was Donald, son of Constantin, the nephew of Aed, but by the old Pictish custom, which counted succession through the mother, it opened to Eocha, son of Run, the British king, whose mother was Aed's sister. Both Donald and Eocha were under age, but the Pictish party was strong enough to secure the succession of Eocha, with whom was associated as *alumpnus ordinatorque* Grig or Ciric (Ciricius), son of Dungaill, who appears from his father's name to have been of British blood. St. Berchan thus refers to Eocha, or Grig :—

> 'The Briton from Clyde shall fear us,
> Son of the woman from Dun Guaire.'

Dungaire seems to be the Gaelic form of Dinguardi or Din-

guarey, the Welsh name for Bamborough, and Grig's mother may have been a Saxon. Their joint reign lasted for eleven years, when Eocha 'with his tutor' was expelled from the kingdom. But during that period Grig (who became the Gregory the Great of the mediæval chroniclers) proved himself a capable ruler, and waged successful war against the Saxons. He is said to have brought under subjection the whole of Bernicia and part of Anglia, his Scots certainly plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne, and one result of his activity seems to have been that the Britons of Strathclyde recovered their territories south of the Solway to the Derwent, and their monarch again ruled over

> 'Fair Strathclyde and Reged wide
> And Carlisle tower and town.'

In 908 is recorded the death of Donald, king of the Britons, who was apparently the son of Run, and last of his race, for the Pictish Chronicle records that Donald, son of Aed and brother of Constantin, the reigning Scottish monarch, was chosen king. The choice indicates a renewal of close relations between the Britons and the Scots.

The Welsh *Brut y Twysogion* has an entry under the year 890, which, whether correctly placed in date or not, probably records a historical fact. It narrates that 'The Men of Strathclyde who would not unite with the Saxons were obliged to leave their country and go to Gwynedd, and Anarawd (king of Wales) gave them leave to inhabit the country taken from him by the Saxons, comprising Maelor, the Vale of Clwyd, Rhyvoniog, and Tegeingl, if they could drive the Saxons out, which they did bravely. And the Saxons came on that account a second time against Anarawd, and fought the action of Cymryd, in which the Cymry conquered the Saxons and drove them wholly out of the country; and so Gwynedd was freed from the Saxons by the might of the "Gwyr y Gogledd," or Men of the North.'

The date seems a curious one for this departure, but

the kingdom had undoubtedly been weakened by the Saxon conquest of Kyle and the misfortunes that followed, and it is probably the case that a large number of the British aristocracy and high-spirited fighting men preferred to emigrate to their kindred in Wales rather than submit to and mingle with the Saxon invaders. The mass of the British native population must, however, have remained, and the kingdom under the new dynasty of Scottish origin continued to have a separate existence for another half century.

The Saxon Chronicle states that in the year 924, 'King Eadward was chosen for father and for lord by the kings of the Scots and by the Scots, and by King Regnall, and all the Northumbrians, and also by the king of the Strathclyde Welsh, and by all the Strathclyde Welsh,' but there is no record of any campaign by that monarch, who had all England south of the Humber under his rule, which affords foundation for the assertion. On the contrary the Strathclyde Britons, under their king, Owain, are found in 937 forming part along with the Scots under Constantine and the Danes of Dublin—'Bretar oc Scotar oc Irar'—of the great allied army which was defeated by Athelstane at Brunanburgh, when he 'put King Anlaf with eight hundred and fifteen ships, Constantin, king of the Scots, and the king of the Cumbrians with all their forces to flight.' Owain was succeeded by his son Donald, and it is stated in the life of St. Cadroe that the saint, after leaving the territories of the Scottish king, came to the *terra Cumbrorum*, and Dovenaldus the king who ruled over this people received him gladly and conducted him *usque Loidam civitatem quæ est confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum*, from whence he was taken to York. The city 'Loidam' here appears to be Leeds, where there had been a small British state long before conquered by the Saxons, and it would seem as if St. Cadroe's course had been through the length of the Strathclyde kingdom, and he had left it on its south-eastern frontier.

Strathclyde was ravaged by the Saxons in 944, according

to the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and in 946, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*. The Saxon Chronicle states that in 945 'King Eadmund harried over all Cumbraland, and gave it all up to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both by sea and on land.' It has generally been supposed that the territory thus made over consisted of the region between the Derwent and the Solway, and a very good reason for placing it in the hands of a strong and friendly monarch was that it must hitherto have formed the channel of communication between the Northmen of Ireland and Northumbria. Mr. Skene, however, considers Cumberland or Cumbraland as equivalent to the whole of the British kingdom, and that the Scots held from Edmund the whole of the British territory to their own frontier. It appears to me that this inference is too large, and is not consistent with subsequent events. There seems, however, to be no doubt that the Saxon conquest of the land south of the Solway was complete. Between Grasmere and Thirlmere on the boundary line of Westmoreland and Cumberland is a pass called Dunmailraise, where a heap of stones is said to mark the spot where Edmund of Wessex defeated and killed Dunmail the last British king of Cumberland. Tradition says that the eyes of his two sons were put out by Edmund's order.

> 'They now have reached that pile of stones
> Heaped over brave King Dunmail's bones;
> He who once held supreme command
> Last king of Rocky Cumberland,
> His bones and those of all his power
> Slain here in a disastrous hour.'

Whether Dunmail is a British form of the name of Donald, the contemporaneous king of Strathclyde, it is impossible to say. It is more probable that it was that of a local chief or commander, for Domnall mac Ewain, king of Britain, as he is termed in the Irish, or Dunwallawn, king of Strathclyde, in the Welsh records, went on a pilgrimage to Rome in the year 975.

The Ulster Annals record in 952 a 'battle against the

men of Alban, Britain, and Saxons by the Galls,' while a few years later 'Dunedin or Edinburgh was evacuated by the Angles and left to the Scots,' who thus probably became conterminous with the Britons on the Avon in the east, as well as on the Forth in the north. That the Britons were still independent and able to hold their own is evident from the fact that Cuilean, king of the Scots, and his brother Eocha were slain by them in battle in 971. The later chronicles state that Cuileann was slain in Lothian by Andarch, son of Donvald, on account of his daughter; and St. Berchan, who calls him Fionn, or the white, says :—

> 'The grave of Fionn on the brink of the waves,
> A spear shall sever [life];
> In a strange, high valiant land,
> It was by the Britons shall be his death.'

His successor Kenneth was not altogether successful in revenging his death, for though he immediately laid waste the territory of the Britons in part, his foot soldiers were cut off with great slaughter in the Moss of the Curnag (the stream which gives its name to Abercorn), and he found it advisable to fortify the Fords of Forth, though he more than once laid waste Northumberland as far as Stanmore, Cleveland, and the pools of Deira.

In 997 Tighernac records the death of Malcolm, son of Donald, king of the Northern Britons. The Saxon Chronicle states that in the year 1000 Aethelred, king of England, 'went to Cumbraland and ravaged it very nigh all, and his ships went out about Chester, and should have come to meet him but could not.' It is again doubtful whether this refers to an attempt to wrest Cumberland from the Scottish king, or a general invasion of the Cymric territory. In 1018 Malcolm, king of Scots, along with Eugenius the Bald, king of the Strathclyde Britons, invaded the Northumbrian territories and gained the decisive battle at Carham on the Tweed which advanced the Scottish frontier to that river and the Cheviots. The death of Owen, son of Dunawal, is recorded as taking place about this time,

and with him the separate line of the Scottish dynasty of Strathclyde comes to an end. Whether the Scottish kings had regarded themselves as overlords of Strathclyde from the time of Edmund of Wessex or not, Strathclyde henceforward appears to have been treated as an appanage of the Scottish realm, though with some independent position, and is frequently found held by the heir apparent.

King Malcolm appears to have placed the whole of the territory south of the Forth under the rule of his grandson Duncan, who is called *Rex Cumbrorum* by the English chroniclers. At one time, indeed, the name 'Galweya' was extended so as to include not only Galloway but Strathclyde, 'Loonia [Lothian] and Galweya' being equivalent to the 'Saxan and Bretan' of an Irish writer. It seems very doubtful whether after the murder of Duncan after his accession to the Scottish throne, Macbeth ever extended his power south of the Forth. Skene suggests that Cumbria and Lothian remained faithful to the children of Duncan, but, at any rate, the expedition of Siward, Earl of Northumbria, in 1054 established Malcolm Canmore in possession of the territory of the Cumbrian Britons and of Lothian as king of Cumbria.

In the year 1092 King William Rufus wrested from the Scottish king the southern portion of the Cumbrian kingdom which extended from the Solway to the river Derwent, the pass of Dunmailraise, and the Cross at Stanmore. The Chronicle says that he 'with a large force went north to Carlisle and restored the town, and raised the castle, and drove out Dolphin, who had previously ruled the land there, and then returned south hither. And very many country folk, with wives and with cattle, he sent thither to dwell and to till the land.' This aggression was the cause of King Malcolm's invasion of England when he lost his life near Alnwick.

Cumbria or Strathclyde is once again found with an independent existence before it became finally merged in Scotland. King Edgar bequeathed Lothian and Cumbria

to his youngest brother David with the title of Comes or Earl, and on his death in 1107, when Alexander succeeded to the throne of Alban or Scotland north of the Forth, Earl David obtained possession of these districts. They were finally merged with the rest of Scotland on his succession in 1124, though their population is found as a separate body in the royal host at the battle of the Standard in 1138 under the names of 'Cumbrenses ac Tevidalenses,' and our ancient books contain references to the Laws of the Scots and Brets, as well as to the Laws of Galloway, which received recognition for a long time.

The history of Strathclyde as a separate entity practically commences with the reformation of religion by St. Kentigern under Rhydderch. It substantially closes with a similar event under the pious Earl David, who refounded the bishopric of Glasgow and ordered an investigation into its possessions. In the document recording this, which is still extant, it is said that ' while Alexander, king of Scots, was reigning in Scotia, God had sent them David, brother german of the king of Scots, to be their prince and leader,' and that ' David, prince of the Cumbrian region, causes inquisition to be made into the possessions of the church of Glasgow in all the provinces of Cumbria which were under his dominion and power, for he did not rule over the whole of the Cumbrian region.' The missing portion is obviously that on the south of the Solway forming the bishopric of Carlisle. The framers of the document relate the foundation of the church of St. Kentigern, and that he was succeeded by several bishops, but that the confusions and revolutions of the country at length destroyed all traces of the Church, and almost of Christianity, till the restoration of the bishopric by Earl David. With the restoration of the bishopric, the accession of David to the Scottish throne, and the great change and consolidation which, under him and his successors, affected all Scotland to the Tweed and the Solway, the separate history of the British race and kingdom in Scotland comes to an end.

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(*Continued from page* 111)

GAELIC TEXT

IMTUSA imorro Tid mic Aeniasa. Ro chinn seig [1] a cheim co h-egannais [2] adhuathmar tars na bruig cairgeacha gart-glana Gregda co facaid uad [3] mullach na catrach suaithinti suthaigi .*i.* Prochinna.[4] Ua salcha sesmacha trillsi an trein-fhir [5] an tan [5] sin ré lan-salchar an luaithridh a h-aithli an lan [6]-chomaig. Acus [6] ba salcha fliucha na fiar-letairthi badar a cnís an curadh [7] sin tre allus [8] a aistir acus (a) imthechta. Acus ba ruisti [9] ruamanta ruisc an rig sin can codlad can chumsanadh. Acus ba mor-menmnach an miled sin a h-aithli an choscair do chuir. Uair is amlaid do [10] bai Tid mac Aeniusa ann sin amail tarb comthnuthach cos-carach ar traethad acus ar toirnem chuingida coimfedma comalochairthi [11] lan-marb dá eis ar n-a fudbogud.[12] Acus o ro siacht imorro Tid na cathracha sin na Greigi nir an ag adandadh feirgi acus urbada acus miscaisi na Tiabanda ar na cineadaib cosnamacha .*i.* ota Sefo*n* co h-Argus. Acus do bai ag innisi(n) a cur fein re techtairecht do chum Etiocles d'iarraid a fhlaithis [13] do Poilinixes.[14] Acus do b'urasa do Thid aslach uilc [15] do thabairt [15] iter na poiplib [16] sin Adraist, uair do bai an dea croda cath-cumachtach .*i.* Mairt ag furail [17] ana cetna orra.[17]

Is ann sin imorro do bái an ri uasal Adraist acus maithi a muinntire 'na farrad a coindi acus a comairli an tan tainig Tid can fis can airechad chucu no cor'labair fo'n dorus ag techt a stech: 'A firu,' ar se, 'gabaid bar n-arm-

[1] chinnset. [2] co h-*eg*gennas. [3] Eg. omits. [4] Prosinna.
[5–5] Eg. omits. [6–6] Eg. omits. [7] curaidh. [8] re h-allus.
[9] ruiti: ruisti is an uncommon word. It seems to mean 'torn,' 'rent'; cf. Irische Texte, IV. (2) p. 542. [10] no. [11] lochardha. [12] fodhbad. [13] flaithiusa.
[14] Eg. adds: Acus ro innis in feall do triall*sat* air fen tre ceilg in oidhchi sin acus c . . Etiocleis acus . . do trebith um an flaithusa ar Polinices.
[15–15] Eg. omits. [16] puiplechaibh. [17–17] in *cet*na forro.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Now as to the proceedings of Tydeus, son of Oeneus.[1] He trudged on wearily, wretchedly over the rocky, clear fields of Greece until he saw at a distance the housetops of the well-known, prosperous city Prosymna. Filthy and rigid were the tresses of that mighty man at the time with dirt and dust after his hard fight. Foul and wet were the wounds in the skin of that hero from the sweat of his journey and march. Bruised and red were the eyes of that prince for want of sleep and rest. Elated in mind was that warrior after the victory he had won. For thus was Tydeus son of Oeneus like a very fierce, victorious bull which has overthrown and prostrated his very powerful opponent so that he is mangled (?) and stark dead thereafter and despoiled. When Tydeus reached the cities of Greece, those between (the river) Asopis (?) and Argus, he did not wait to kindle wrath and dread and hatred against the Thebans among these contentious tribes, but he told them of his having been on an embassy to Etiocles asking him to yield the dominion to Polinices. And it was an easy matter for Tydeus to stir up these subjects of Adrastus to mischief, for the powerful battle-ruler Mars was pressing the same thing upon them.

Now[2] the noble King Adrastus, with the chiefs of his people along with him, was holding meeting and counsel when Tydeus without notice or observation approached them and spoke out as he came in at the door: 'Men,'

[1] Th., iii. 324. [2] Th., iii. 345.

sa[1] co h-obann. Acus, a Adraist,' ar se 'cumnig,'[2] ar se, 'do so-chineilechi acus mor-menma na fer mor o r' geinis. Agus gab t'errad catha acus comlaind acus comraig umat. Uair nocha n-uil comall caradraig aig na Tiabandaib ris na deib na ris na dainib,' ar se; 'acus do bad usa liumsa dul re techtairecht diumsaig cacha cinnead egennais aininndaig[3] aili sin doman na d'a n-indsaigid-sium. Acus a Gregu,' ar se, 'berid misi do chum catha na Tiabanda co n-diglar orra an t-innlead[4] ceilgi tucsad orm is i n-aidchi. Acus ergid co h-obann,' ar se, 'do chum ar namad, an tan taid[5] co h-eaglach anband remaib, acus an tan ataid truaid[6]-nemelach ag nuall-guba a muinntiri, acus ac adnacal chorp a carad alla muich d'a cathraig. Agus do marbus-a fein .i.[7] trein-fer do na Tiabanda; acus gid am crechtach cro-linnteach-sa, is ed is ail lium a n-innsaigid a c(h)etoir do ridisi.' Is ann sin do eirgeadar na Greg[8] an aen fecht an agaid Tid do fertain failti fris. Acus is e cet fer do riacht d'a indsaigid an trein-fer calma caithmeagda Poilinixes mac Eidip. Ro chrom a chend acus adubairt:
Fol. 7b 1. 'Adchim-sa do crecht,[9] a Thid croda, a caragain.[10] Acus ni tu do créchtnaiged ann sin,' ar se, 'acht mad misi fein. Acus dar ulcaib rimsa do ronad ritsa sin. Acus bid[11]-si an bar tocht,' ar se, 'a Gregu, acus leigid damsa debaid ma brathar. Acus is ed dligim-si, a Thid,' ar se,[12] 'do crechta-su do digail ar na Tiabanda.' Acus do rigni-sim an comairli sin co coitchend re cach.

Ro erig,[13] truaid[14]-nemela toirrsi acus tinnusa[15] i crideadaib nan Greg uili co n-a roibi dog na do*cht* anns sin an[16] aen duine nar chind aen menmain a ait acus a atharda d'(f)agbail acus dul d'indsaigid na Teibi d'a togail re Polinices mac Eidip. Et do labair an comairleach cianaesta .i. athair an oireachais .i. Adraist, acus adubairt: 'Leigid damsa acus do na deib bar caingin do crichnac(h)adh, acus denaid teinneanus um thachar ris na Tiabandaib. Uair nocha racha an flaithus a n-aiscid o Pholinices can a digail,

[1] arma. [2] cuimnig. [3] ainminigh. [4] innall.
[5] ataid. [6] truagh. [7] Eg. omits. [8] Grega.
[9] crechta. [10] caragain. [11] bidhi. [12] Eg. omits.
[13] Eg. adds tra. [14] truaigh. [15] tinninus. [16] Eg. omits.

said he, 'grasp your weapons at once; and, Adrastus,' added he, 'remember the high lineage and great spirit of your mighty ancestors. And don your armour of battle and conflict and contest. For the Thebans do not keep terms of friendship with gods or men,' continued he; 'and it would have been easier for me to convey a haughty message to the most merciless evil-disposed tribe in the world than to them. And, Greeks,' Tydeus went on to say, 'take me with you to the Theban war that I may avenge upon them the treacherous plot which they laid against me in the night. And attack your foe instantly,' concluded Tydeus, 'while they are timorous and weak awaiting you, and while they are in bitter sorrow lamenting their folk and burying the bodies of their friends outside their city. I myself have slain (many of) the Theban champions; and though I am covered with gory wounds nothing would please me better than forthwith to attack them a second time.' Then rose the Greeks at the same time to meet Tydeus and greet him. The first man to reach him was the mighty brave fighter, Polinices, son of Oedipus. He bent his head and said: 'I behold your wounds,' brave Tydeus, '. . . It was not you that was wounded in that fight, but I; for it was for my wrongs you have received them. And be ye silent, Greeks, and leave to me this quarrel with my brother; and it will be my task, Tydeus, to avenge your wounds on the Thebans.' They all agreed among themselves to have it so.

A bitter feeling of vexation and irritation sprung up in the hearts of all the Greeks so there was neither doubt nor hesitation (?)[1] in the mind of a single man. All unanimously resolved to quit their place and possession and follow Polinices, son of Oedipus, to Thebes, in order to capture the city. Then the venerable counsellor, the father of the assembly, Adrastus, spoke and said: 'Leave to the gods and to me to determine your cause, and do ye make haste to meet the Thebans. For the dominion will not pass

[1] Evidently a proverbial expression.

acus bid nua sin an tan do gentar. Acht chena,' ar se, 'dentar Tit mac Aeniusa do leigus acus do lesubugud,[1] acus legar codlad acus cumsanad do chorp crechtach an curad coma slan.' O d' chonncadar cetherna cuanna choimidechta Thid acus a bain-cheili baill-geal banamáil a cnes ar[2] crechtnubad,[3] ro buaidrid acus ro medraid a menmanna. Ro iadsadair uile uime ma cuairt co dluith acus co daingean, acus tairastair Tit co fosaid forbailid is in rigda, acus a druim ris an columain comdaingin bai for lar in tigi. Acus do glanastair an fiseacda[4] fir-eolach .ɪ. Idmon Epidarda (a) crechta an curad sin d'uisci lan-glan linn-fuar, acus do thesc do scín ai(th)gher faebar-guirm iumad an[5] feola atmairi as. Ra chuir luibi cumachta cnesaigdhi a ledar-thaib an laeich sin. [6]Acus do[6] bai imorro Tit mac Aenuisa ag fhaisneis acus ag indisin a gloir acus a chomraith[7] fein acus Eitiocles ri na Teibi.[8] [9]Ro innis[9] an t-inad a tugad in t-sleag[10] ceilgi uime acus in uair tugadh ; an cath acus anmand na toiseach do rochair leis ; acus an fer-innisin scel do leig d'a deoin uada .ɪ. Meon fileata fadam*ail*. Et ra lai socht acus snim ar rig n-uasal n-Adraist acus airig an tiri acus an talman badar ag eistecht ris na scelaib sin. Acus[11] ro b' agannad[11] menmain do'n lucht sin scela na Tiaband, acus fá togbail fergi acus fuasadi Polinices moir mic Eidip sin. Acus as a h-aithli sin ro thoirinn acus [12]ra thain[12] an grian dath-glan di-fhoillsigtheach a ruithni caema corcar-glana dar eochair-bordaib an aigeoin aird Ib*er*da siar co fuincad, co ra iad acus co ra infhogair agaid dorcha do-imthechta crislach comluaimneach chog-uasta na firmaiminti um tulcaib acus trebaib an talman uile, co roibi cach uili in a colladh acus in a comsonad, acht mad an ri cendais cian-aesta Adraist acus a cliamain primda Polinices, ag sgruadad gaisi gan chodladh in aidchi sin. Acus bai imorro Tid leadarthi in a lan[13] codlad.

Et as a h-aithli sin tainig Mairt mac Eoiph co n-arm fodrugad[14] adbal in aidchi sin dar crichaib arda na h-Arcaidi,

[1] lesugud. [2] Eg. adds na. [3] créchtnudh. Eg. adds acus.
[4] fisíge. [5] na. [6–6] Eg. omits. [7] comraic.
[8] Tia*band*. [9–9] Acus innisidh. [10] innleadh. [11–11] ropannad.
[12–12] Eg. omits. [13] Eg. omits. [14] fograg*ad*.

from Polinices without a hard struggle, and the time for action is at hand. But yet,' said he, 'Tydeus, son of Oeneus, must (first) be cured and healed, and the wounded body of the hero must have sleep and rest until he is well (again).' When the elegant bodyguard of Tydeus and his fair-limbed womanly wife saw his skin covered with wounds, their minds became confused and excited. They all crowded round him close and compact, and carried him gently and blithely to the palace, and placed him with his back to the strong pillar in the centre of the house. And the very skilful physician, Idmon, a pupil of Epidaurus, washed the wounds of the hero with pure cold water, and he cut away with a very sharp, blue-edged knife the excrescences of the swollen flesh. He applied powerful, healing herbs to the mangled side of the hero. And now Tydeus, son of Oeneus, related and told his speech and talk with Etiocles, King of Thebes. He mentioned the place where the treacherous plot was laid, and the time; the fight, and the names of the chiefs who fell by his hands; and about Maeon, poet and prophet, whom willingly he allowed to escape in order to carry the tidings (to Thebes). The noble King Adrastus and the chiefs of the land and country were silent and anxious during the recital of these tidings. The story of the Thebans kindled the passions of the people, and roused the anger and wrath of the great Polinices, son of Oedipus. Thereafter the bright, purple rays of the blazing sun descended, and disappeared set in the west beneath the edge of the high Hesperian ocean; and dark, impassable night, encompassed and pervaded the quivering, hollow vault of heaven around the hills and habitations of the whole earth; and all were in sleep and rest save only the gentle, aged Adrastus and his illustrious son-in-law Polinices, who passed a sleepless night pondering profound thoughts. As for the wounded Tydeus, he was sound asleep.

Now after that Mars, son of Jove, with his huge, clanging arms travelled that night across the high lands of Arcadia

acus dar bruigib níam-glana Neim,[1] acus dar mullach sleibi tirm-glain Tenair, acus co catraig thuasasail[2] Apaill do Tiramhnas; co ra lin grada chatha cosnoma crideada crith-naigtheacha curada na Grege uili, tre aslach an dei Mairt mic Eoip. Et dno ro scail Fama ingen Teira co cluach irdairc scela an dea sin Mairt fo cricha acus chendachda na Gregi uili.

Et a cind secht laithi iar sin ro erig an senoir snimach uasal Adraist. Acus ra bai co h-imsnimach 'ca imradh[3] an cath ro comorfad no an sid[3] ro sirfead ar cach. Acus is i comairli ro chinnsim a faidhi acus a fisidi do[4] indsáidi acus
Fol. 7b 2. iarraid daib seig, tre idbartaib, ar[5] na deib cid budh[6] choir do na Gregaib do denam. Acus is íad fá fileada an tan sin aigi-sium .ι. Aimpiarus mac Etiocles no Eiclis an sagart duaithcill,[7] duigsenach,[8] acus an senoir fir-eolach finnitneach Melampus mac Amithón. Acus ni roibi a coimré fris neach as mó ar a thabradh Apaill firinne fregra ina fer sin Melampus. Agus do ronsad na faidi sin taiscelta faistine ar tus tre fuil acus tre indib na ceatra comloiscthi. Acus o na fuaradar fis ba failid leo uaithib sin.

Is ann sin ro triallsatar taisceladh ar[9] nellaibh nua-glana in aeoir. Is amlaidh ro badar-som acus sliab ard aireda cuanna coimreidh coiseargta a comfogus doib .ι. Aphesannt. Et is do mullach an sleibi sin ro foluaimnig Peirs mac Ioip do cathugud ris in Gorgáin. Acus is amlaid ro bai an Gorgain sin .i. torathar tre-chendach, acus cach duine adchid h-e do nith[10] carraig chomdaingean de. Et o chualaid Pers mac Eoiph sin tainig d'indsaigid Meneirbi, acus do sir furtacht furri do chum na Gorgaine. Tug Menearba (a) sciath gloinidhi udein dó, co faicead-som scath an torathair ag tachur ris tre san sciath sin.[11] Acus atorchair leisium an Gorgan amlaid sin.

Is ann sin tangadar na faidi acus na fisidi sagart sin .i. Ampiarus acus Melampus as in t-sliab n-alaind n-ola-cranda

[1] Eg. omits. [2] uasail.
[3–3] in catha do eiridh ann sin do comoradh in catha no in sidh.
[4] Eg. adds thabairt da. [5] do. [6] Ed. repeats cid budh. [7] tuaichill.
[8] Ed. adds na todochaidi; Eg. has *tucsinach*. [9] Eg. adds na.
[10] Ed. repeats do nith.
[11] Eg. adds: acus co facadh in torathar a scath fen co n-ar ar fen do cuaidh an.

and the pleasant, bright fields of Nemea, and the top of the fair, arid hill of Taenarus and to the noble city of Apollo, Therapnae; and the excitable, valiant hearts of all the Greeks were filled with the desire of an adventurous war by the temptings of the god Mars, son of Jove. And Fama, the daughter of Terra, besides, spread, with glory and renown, the tidings of that god Mars through the bounds and provinces of all Greece.

[1] At the end of seven days thereafter the old, anxious-minded, noble Adrastus was still perplexed as to whether he ought to promote the war or persuade the others to peace. He resolved to summon his prophets and seers, and to get them to ask the gods, by means of sacrifices, what the Greeks ought to do. His sages at the time were Amphiarus, son of Ethiocles (or Oicles), the sagacious, acute priest, and the aged, learned, subtle Melampus, son of Amythaon. And there was not in his time one to whom Apollo would give a truthful reply more readily than to Melampus. These seers first made prognostications of prophecy through the blood and entrails of cattle which they had burned. And they were glad when they received no sign through these.

[2] Then they sought revelation from the pure, bright clouds of the air. And thus they were, with a high, noble, level, sacred hill in their neighbourhood, called Aphesas. It was to the top of that hill that Perseus, son of Jove, flew in order to fight the Gorgon. And thus was that Gorgon, a triple-headed monster that used to turn every person it saw to a firm (pillar of) rock. When Perseus, son of Jove, heard of it, he went to Minerva to seek aid from her against the Gorgon. Minerva gave him her own crystal shield, whence he could see the shade of the monster attacking him, by means of that shield. And the Gorgon fell by his hand in this way.

Then the prophets and priest-seers, Amphiarus and Melampus, went with their magnificent sacrificial robes

[1] Th., iii. 443.

[2] Th., iii. 460.

sin, acus a snaitheadha ailli iudbarta má cendaib re turggabail na grene suaithnidi solusta is in maidin moch-trath. Is ann sin do labair Ampiarus ar tus ris na deib .ι. re h-Eoib do sunnrad, acus ra rim a cumachta egsamala in gach inad fair, d'iarraidh a firindi acus ' a inisin duind tre gothaib na n-en, a Ioib, an m-b(fuige)um coscar do na Tiabandaib do'n turus-a.' Et o dubairt Ampiarus sin ro laigestair [1] is in carraig [1] comdaingin a roibi, acus do bai ac fegad fhaistine in a aignead and sin, (acus) o ra fregastar-sium renda acus reltanna na firmaiminti acus ata [2] in aeoir. Acus ra labair Melampus an filid as a h-aithli sin acus (adubairt) : ' Adchi-si, a Ampiaruis,' ar se, ' co nach foillsienn én na ethaidi sosad na saime do'n (d)ulad,[3] sin no so. Uair adchi-si edaigi duba duaibseacha in aideoir [4] ag troid acus ag tachar d'a n-iningnaib croma gruaid-gera ré ceili, acus comartha duba acus broin sin,' ar se. Adubairt Ampiarus ar sin : ' Do rigni-sa co minic, a Melampuis, faistine an uair do b'óg me, an tan do chuadas an Argo maraen re h-Iason acus re Hercail acus re rigraid Greg ar chena cu crich Colcheta.[5] Acus ní ro chreid Iason da fisid na da fir-eolach .ι. do Mopsus amail do chreid damsa. Acus nocha n-fuaras riam,' ar se, ' derb-airdeada mor uilc mar so a faistine da n-dernas. Acus tabair-si t'airi, a Melampuis,' ar se, ' ris na dirmaib di-airmidi d'elaib ailli aen-gela adchim a tuaid o'n sruth adfhuar oigreta .ι. o Strimon seachum a n-(d)eas o sruth niam-glan Nil. Acus tuc let,' ar se, ' na Tiabanda (co) tae tencha [6] i sidh in catracaib comdaingnib tre sna h-elaib nem-luaimneacha,' ar se. ' Acus ag siud buidean as calma in aid fein d'a n-indsaigid .ι. secht n-aquili aduathmora, acus is íad sin,' ar se, ' secht rig [7] na n-Greg ag indreadh acus ag argain na Tiabanda. Acus ag siud,' ar se, ' aquil [8] dib ag dul an airdi co ra loisceadh acus co ra loitteadh h-í, acus is e sin,' ar se, ' an ri diumsach droch-aigentach .ι. Capaneus, an secht-mad ri do rigaib Greg, loiscfid saignen teinntigi h-e ar an [9] cathuchad mór na Teibi. Acus do fhedar,' ar se, ' in aquil [8]

[1-1] Ed. repeats is in carraig.
[2] Eg. omits.
[3] Eg. do'n duladh-sa.
[4] aieoir.
[5] na Coilcennta.
[6] Eg. *co* tae taenca.
[7] righdha.
[8] acli.
[9] Eg.. omits.

about their heads, in early morning at the rising of the accustomed, brilliant sun, to that beautiful, olive-clad hill. And Amphiarus first addressed the gods, and Jove in particular. He recounted his diverse, marvellous powers displayed everywhere (with the view) to seek the truth from him, and 'to tell us by the cries of the birds, Jove, whether we shall obtain victory over the Thebans on this expedition.' When Amphiarus ceased speaking he lay down on the firm rock on which he was, and he was realising his prophecy in his mind when the stars and constellations of the firmament (and the birds ?) of the air would respond to him. The poet Melampus thereafter spoke and (said): 'I see, Amphiarus,' said he, 'that neither birds nor birds of prey forbode peace and quietness on this campaign, either here or there. For I see the dark, fearsome birds of the air fighting and attacking each other with their crooked, hard-pointed claws, and that is an omen of dool and woe,' said he. Then said Amphiarus: 'Melampus, I often, in my youth, prophesied, when I sailed in the Argo, along with Jason and Hercules and the other princes of Greece, to Colchis. And Jason did not put so much trust in his seer or his wise man Mopsus as he did in me. And never did I find,' said he, 'such sure tokens of disaster in any prophecy I ever made as I find here. Observe, Melampus,' added Amphiarus, 'the numberless flocks of beautiful, all-white swans which we see passing us from the north, from the very cold, icy river Strymon, as well as from the south from the clear, pure river Nile. And observe further,' continued he, 'the Thebans repose in peace in their fortified cities, typified by the restful swans,' said he. 'And yonder a flock more valiant than themselves approaching them, seven terrible eagles; and these,' Amphiarus went on to say, 'represent the seven kings of Greece invading and attacking the Thebans. And see,' said he, 'one of the eagles flying aloft and getting burnt and wounded; that,' Amphiarus explained, 'is the haughty, evil-minded Capaneus, one of the seven Grecian kings,—a fiery thunderbolt will burn him (to death) in the great Theban war. And I know,

so ro thuit ar scis eta(a)gaili,[1] is e mac baeth buaidealta[2] Partanapeus. Acus an t-en-sa dno ro thuit ar braigid a cheli,—Polinices mor mac Eidip sin, acus a brathair Etiocles rí na Tiabanda. Et an n-acil ro imig[3] imlan .ɩ. Adraist uasal a aenur. Acus an t-en so adchi do bathadh,' ar se, '.ɩ. Ipomedon; acus an t-en-sa adchí a cognam chind aroili .ɩ. Tid mac Aeniusa sin, acus Mailispus.'[4] Is ann sin do mebaid achi[5] ar Ampiarus, acus ra fiarfacht Melampus: 'cíd ima cinn, a cumachtaigh, a trasta?' ar Melampus. 'Truag am, a uasail airmidnig, a Melampuis,' ar Ampiarus. 'Do berim-si,' ar se, 'aithne ar an en úd ro thuit can ait acus can inad d'fagbail, conid me fein tuitfes tre sin talmain sis ar cathachud mor na Teibi.'

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Cid tra acht ro gabustar crith-eagla mor na faidi acus na fisid sin, acus ro b'faiteach leo fegad na fisi sin. Acus do chuir an sagart Ampiarus a edach uasal idbarta de. Acus tainic is an sliab co dubach do-menmnach connach cuiread as a airi cathuchud[6] mar bad in uair sin.[7] Et ni deachaid a teach an rig Adraist na do chomrad re h-uaislib na h-oirechta sin,[8] do fhalcastair h-é an duma aineolach anaithnid can fis do duine. Melampus imorro, do bái sein is in t-sleib chedna[9] co cenn sé la acus se n-aidchi can labrad ré duine.

Et o nar[10] labradar na faidi firinde fesa ris na Gregaib ro gresistar[11] Eoip mor mac Saduirn cenn[12] cumachtach coitchend caich gasraidi Greg do chum na Teibi do togail, comdais fasaighthi na feranna acus duine[13] acus dingnada na Gregi ré leiri acus lan-méd tinoil na trein-fer sin, co n-a fagadhais a mna acus (a) mic acus (a) min-daine ag nuall-guba d'a n-eis. Is ann so ro glanaid acus ra daingnigid carpaid craes-lethna comora. Ra limaid acus ro lonnraigid slega suainmeacha so-dibraicthi a meirgi[14] leosim. Ra slibaid acus ro slemnaigid cloidmi[15] athgera urnochta acom-sam ré h-ar acus ré h-oirleach a n-escarad. Ra

[1] scris a h-eted uili.
[2] buaigeala.
[3] in aquil ro imidh.
[4] Menailippus.
[5] aidhchi.
[6] Eg. adds na Tebhi.
[7] Eg. adds nó beth.
[8] Eg. adds acht.
[9] Eg. adds na.
[10] na.
[11] gresetar.
[12] Eg. omits.
[13] duna.
[14] Ed. repeats a meirgi; Eg. adds acus a n-idhnadha.
[15] Eg. omits.

Amphiarus further said, 'that the eagle which has fallen through exhaustion in flying, is the gay, frivolous boy Parthenopaeus. And this bird which has fallen on the neck of its fellow is the great Polinices, son of Oedipus, and (the other is) his brother Ethiocles, king of Thebes. And the eagle that has escaped unwounded is Adrastus, who alone has done so. And this bird which I see being drowned,' added he, 'is Hippomedon, and the bird which I see gnawing the head of another is Tydeus, son of Oeneus (gnawing the head of) Melanippus.' Then night fell upon Amphiarus, and Melampus inquired: 'Why do you weep now, mighty one?' said Melampus. 'Alas! revered, noble Melampus,' said Amphiarus, 'I recognise,' replied he, 'yonder bird that fell without finding a place or seat, that it is I myself who will fall down through the earth in the great Theban war.'

And now these prophets and seers shook with great fear, and the seeing of that vision made them tremble. The priest Amphiarus divested himself of his rich robe of sacrifice. He left the hill sad and depressed, being unable to forget the (Theban) war, as it appeared in that hour. He did not enter the palace of Adrastus, nor did he hold converse with the nobles of the assembly, but hid himself in a secret, unknown mound which no one knew of. And as for Melampus, he was in the same hill for six days and six nights without having speech with any one.

Now when the prophets did not give a veritable message to the Greeks the great Jove, son of Saturn, urged on the powerful chief of all the Grecian populace to the destruction of Thebes, so that the lands and forts and strengths of Greece were left desolate because of the completeness and thoroughness of the muster of its able-bodied men who left their wives and boys and children behind them loudly weeping. They took to cleaning and refitting their wide, open, very large chariots. They polished and burnished and removed rust from their well-stringed, easily-hurled spears. They made glossy and smooth their very sharp, bare swords for slaughtering and attacking their foes. They scoured and freshly cleaned their circular, shapely helmets, and their

níamaid acus ro nua-glanaid cathbair [1] cruinne cumdachta, acus luireacha drolmanacha dub-glasa leo. Ra cumaid (acus) ro coimsigid inair chaema cruad-comraig fa chneasaib na curad sin, acus tucad leo fedmannda fillti for bogadaib caema cornectaib.[2] Ra legaid acus ra luath-cumaid a n-iairnaigi athcnaiti [3] ar athair a corranna [4] acus ar astoil troma treuairi, comdais airm aithgera urlama an agaid irgaili. Ra didnid acus ra daingnigid a sceith chaidi [5] cath-buadacha do seididaib gorma glaed [6]-ecair tiuga togaidhi tarb.

Et ra engadar uili an aen fecht co h-aen-menmnach na Greig [7] co h-Argus acus co teach an righ uasail Adraist, co n-craitheadh feigi na firmaiminti gair gasraigi Greg ag tinnscedal tachair re lucht na Teibi, coma [8] samalta i nuall sin agus tul borb fogradad na cruinni comairdi a cath cumsgugud [9] do'n churaid curata .ι. Encheladus, da sleibdib sarmora na Sigili srothaidi. Acus is amlaid innistir co rugad an corad sin fa sleibdib na Sigili .ι. daine mera mileata badar an di [10] na h-aimsiri. Acus is i comairli ro chindsed tocht do togail nime acus rigi do gabail. Acus o d'chualaidear (na) dee sin .ι. Ioip acus Apaill acus na dei ar chena, acus [11] do [12] curedsedar cath ris na coradaib sin, acus riu seig aderthai mic an talmain ar a truma acus ar a talmaigeacht. Ra mebaid orra an cath sin, acus ro chenglaid acus ro chuibrigid ris [13] na deib iad, acus do cuiread fer dib fa shliab Athna. Acus is ed innister an trath cuireas cor no culscal [14] de co n-seideann sruth casracha teinead a taeb an t-sleibi. Acus ro ceanglaid ann sin Enceladus ba tri sleibtib na Sigili .ι. Lilbeus acus Paccinus acus Pilorus; acus an tan comscaidenn an coraid sin crith-fograidid cruinne na firmaiminti uili. Acus ba cosmail ris sin nuall-gair nan Greg ag iarraid thachair ri sna Tiabandaib.

Et as a h-aithli sin ro choimerig fer brigach borrfadach soichsinacha sotal so-cinelach .ι. Capaneus, an sechtmad ri an toicheastoil sin na n-Greg. Acus is e an fer egennais mor-

[1] cathbarra. [2] *v. supra*, vol. vii. p. 110. [3] athcnithi.
[4] Eg. adds croïmremra. [5] Eg. omits. [6] gleo. [7] Grecaig.
[8] Ed. repeats coma. [9] cumscnadagh. [10] ann a dhus.
[11] Eg. omits. [12] ro. [13] les. [14] cumscal.

looped, dark-grey hauberks. They shaped and fitted elegant, battle-proof tunics to the skins of these champions, and they carried with them folded-up adjuncts on beautiful, polished(?) bows. They melted and deftly shaped their re-fitted iron platings on the . . . of their sickles and on heavy, well-fitting, broad-headed spears, which made them very sharp, handy weapons in front of conflict. They covered and strengthened their fair, battle-victorious shields with blue, firmly glued, thick, well-chosen bull-hides.

Then the Greeks marched to Argos in one body and with one mind, and to the palace of the noble king Adrastus. The shout of the Grecian populace as they gathered to fight against the Thebans shook the vault of the firmament. That shout was like the furious roar which bellows through the spacious globe when that heroic champion Enceladus moves to battle from the very lofty hills of river-abounding Sicily. And thus they relate that that champion was born among the hills of Sicily where dwelt in the beginning of time furious, warlike men. These resolved to attempt the capture of heaven and to assume the sovereignty there. But when Jove and Apollo and the other deities heard of the matter they fought a battle against these champions, who were called sons of earth because of their size and strength. They were defeated in the battle, and were bound and fettered by the gods, and one of them was confined under Mount Aetna. And they further say that whenever he turns or moves a curling stream of fire issues from the side of the mountain. Enceladus was confined under the three hills of Sicily, viz. Lilybaeus and Pachynus and Pilorus, and whenever that champion moves the vault of the whole firmament shakes and resounds. Like to this sound was the shout and roar of the Greeks as they sought to meet the Thebans.

[1]Thereafter arose a mighty, elated, prodigal, proud, highly-descended man, Capaneus, one of the seven kings of the Grecian army. And that merciless, high-minded man

[1] Th., iii. 598.

iriseach sin nach denad ni ar deib na ar dainib.[1] Acus ro labair Capaneus acus (adubairt): 'Is dillsiugud acus is dimigin duind,' ar se, 'Ampiarus, an coimlin curad cumtaig atai-si[2] ag urnaigi fhaistine aen duine san doman. Acus mad misi chena,' ar se, 'nocha biu ag urnaigi ris, uair is and ata mo cumachta comlaid a m'chlaidim. Acus do den-sa faistine daib, a Greg, muna derna Ampiarus.' Acus o ra iadasdair na Greg fa'n gilla sin ra erig Ampiarus agus adubairt: 'Nocha n-ar glor ogal ainindeach[3] Capaneus na re h-egla do denaind-si faistine daib acht ar bar n-grad fein. Acht ata ni chena, a thruaga, ca dasacht acus ca droch-ciall imluaigus sib? Acus ca miscais do berthai daib fein acus dá bar cathraig, do Argus, an tan teigthi d'indsaigi na Tiabanda? Acus cred ma tugsabair orm faistine daib? Uair adchonarcus derb-airdida digla dermairi daib, a Grega; acus ro tescad snaitheada bar saegail ag na Parchip ifern-taigi. Uair tri mna aderar do beith in ifern, acus Fairchi aderar riu, acus cuigeal con a cuigeallach aca a triur a cuma shaegail cach duine .i. bean dib ag imarcar na cuigili .i. Clotha, acus bean ag snim an t-snaithi .i.[4] Lacessis, acus in tres ben ic tescad in t-snaithi .i.[4] Atropus. Acus, a truaga, a Grega,' ar se Ampiarus, 'ca h-ailles daib treba na Teibi do thuar d'apaigib bar corp ar n-a marbad ar moigib catrach Caithim? Acus ge tu-sa 'ca bar toirmesc,' ar se, 'uair is cinnti co racham uili and.' Et ra bai an sagart an a thast Ampiarus and sin. Acus do rad Capaneus athis arigisi[5] ar Ampiarus acus adubairt: 'Bi-siu co tim teitheadach is in Greg, acus cach aen ar a n-urailfitu egla tre t'faistine, acus na h-eist-siu ris na stoccaib tend-gluaire Tirrannda. Acus do dein-sa fein,' ar se, 'faistine do cach aen tic[6] leam do chum an cathaigthi.' Acus is uime aderar Tirrannda ris na stoccaib, uair Terenus ri na Tusceta bus [7]athair lidh[7] cet duine ri sir[8] sdocc riam ar tuss.[8]

[1] Eg. adds riam. [2] tai-si. [3] ainmnacha. [4–4] Ed. omits.
[5] a rís. [6] thi. [7–7] braiter líd. [8–8] sínnedh stoc ar tus riam.

was one who would do nought at the bidding of gods or men. Capaneus spoke and (said): 'Amphiarus,' said he, 'it is a humiliation and disgrace to us, such a number of valiant champions as are here, to be a-waiting for the prophecy of any individual in the universe. As for myself indeed,' added he, 'I shall not wait for him, for my power rests on my sword (alone). I shall prophesy for you, O Greeks, if Amphiarus does not.' When the Greeks gathered round that warrior Amphiarus rose and said: 'It is not because of the wild and violent speech of Capaneus nor from fear that I would prophesy for you, but for my love for you. Howbeit, miserable ones, what madness and evil spirit moves you? And what ill-will do you have to yourselves and to your city Argos, when you go to attack the Thebans? And why do you compel me to prophesy for you? For I have seen sure tokens of great disaster to you, O Greeks; and the threads of your life have been cut by the Fates of hell. For they say that there are three women in hell called Parcae. The three have a distaff with the (prepared) flax (or wool) by which they measure the life of every man. One of them, Clotho, carries the distaff, another, Lachesis, spins the thread, while the third, Atropos, cuts the thread. And, O miserable Greeks, what pleasure can it give to you that the fields of Thebes will be bleaching greens for your entrails after you are slain on the plains of Cadmus's city? And why should I be restraining you,' concluded he, 'for it is certain that we shall all go thither?' Then the priest Amphiarus was silent. And Capaneus again reproached Amphiarus and said: 'You will abide a feeble coward in Greece with every one whom your prophecies will make afraid, and you will not hear the loud blast of Tyrrhenian trumpets. I shall myself,' added he, 'make prophesy for every one who accompanies me to the war.' The reason why the trumpets are called Tyrrhenian is that Tyrrhenus, King of Tusculum (?), was the brother of Lydus, the first man who ever played upon a trumpet.

GRANNIE'S BAKING

(*In Cromarty Dialect*)

DONALD A MACKENZIE

When grannie bakes her oaten cakes
  I jist drap in to news a whiley—
If she should want a messagie,
  She 'll ken that then I 'd rin a miley.
My grannie's cakes are groff and sweet—
  She 'll aye mak' ane for her 'wee mannie';
Oh, a' roon' Cromarty there 's non'
  Wha bakes sic cakes as my auld grannie.

'Weel, what 's yer news the day?' she 'll speer,
  As I sit on my ain wee stoolie;
'And div ye like my bonnie cakes?
  And wad ye hae a bittie, mooly?'
'Och! grannie, aye,' I 'll mak' reply.
  She 'll smile—'Wheest! hear yon moosie rakin'
Ahint the press though pussie 's here—
  The little rougie smells my bakin'.'

She 'll bake ilk cake as big 's the moon,
  Wi' soople thoomb and nev so knacky,
Then whip it up and clap it doon
  Upon her girdle in a crackie;
She 'll cut a crossie wi' her knife
  And leave fower farlies saft as jelly—
At length she 'll sigh—'I 'm done, but I
  Maun bake a cakie for yersel'ie.'

She 'll say—'So tak' the pailie doon
  And get a Stroopie drink for grannie;
Ye 'll mind and row' yer hankie roon'
  The han'lie or 't 'ill hurt yer han'ie—
In comes the weaver's wife to crack,
  Wi'—'Bless yer hert an' hoo 's yer body?' . . .
I ken my cakie 's toastin' fine,
  As I go up the Stroopie roadie.

Alang the hedgie linties chirp;
I peep for nesties ha'din' eggies;
I 'm aye so eident as I go,
For fear the nettlies scam my leggies.
The wudden Stroopie 's at the dreep;
I leave my pailie hingin' cannie,
Then buttercups and daisies pick
Far up the Kirky Brae for grannie.

Ah! me the day—as she wad say—
A' this is auld-warld crack, I 'm thinkin';
The Stroopie water 's no' thocht noo
So coul and clear and sweet for drinkin'—
No grannies bake wee oaten cakes
For bairns wha deem they are so quirky;
And mine so dear, this mony a year
Is sleepin' near the Gaelic Kirky.

Groff, thick; speer, ask; div, do; mooly (Gaelic, m'ulaidh), my treasure; ahint, behind; nev, closed hand; Stroopie, little well-pipe; hankie, handkerchief; eident, careful; scam, sting; Kirky Brae, brae of the little church.

TOPOGRAPHICAL VARIA—VI

W. J. Watson, LL.D.

-nt- terminal

Dr. Joyce in his invaluable work on *Irish Names of Places* [1] has noted that 'the letter *d* is often added on to the end of words, sometimes with a collective meaning, sometimes with scarcely any meaning at all.' He gives as examples Kealid from *caol*, narrow; Croaghat from *cruach*, a stack; the stream names Buanaid, the lasting river; Dianaid, in English Burn Dennet, the strong or swift stream; and the lake name Lough Oorid, from *uar*, cold. In dealing with the place-names of Badenoch, Dr. MacBain compared with the above examples Bialaid, from *beul* (northern *bial*), mouth, and also Ràth-d, in English Raitt, Raitts, Roth(ie), from ràth, a circular earthwork.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 15.

This termination, while not exactly common, is found with us both in names of places, and especially in names of streams. It is also found elsewhere in the language, in such words as *farmad*, *nàmhaid*, *coimhead*, where we often find that a final post-vocalic *d* is to be explained as arising from a primitive post-vocalic *-nt.*[1] And as the laws of speech that apply to the ordinary language must be taken as applying equally to Celtic names of places, we may look for a similar explanation here also. Reference to Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* will show numerous examples of names ending in -ant-, -ent-, -ont, which were in fact old participial endings exactly parallel to the Latin and Greek participial endings of the active voice. Thus we have Dru-entia, a river-name with which Dr. MacBain compared as to root the Badenoch Druie, and Gaelic *drùdhadh*, oozing; Derv-entio, the river Derwent, Oak Stream, Welsh *derw*, oak; and others, with which may also be compared the Latin Dig-entia, that flowed by Horace's villa.

Some of our Scottish names of places may, I venture to think, be profitably considered from this point of view.

Drum-derfit, in the Black Isle, has been dealt with in part in *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty*. The modern Gaelic form is *Druima-diar*, locally explained as Ridge of Tears, the second part being plainly a contraction (and probably a modification in Gaelic) of a Pictish and obscure name. The old spelling Drumdervat, taken in connection with the modern Englished form Drum-derfit, points to a primitive *Derventon or *Dervention, meaning Place of Oaks, the name given to the oak-clad hollow at the foot of the ridge.

Ailsa Craig in the Firth of Clyde is in Gaelic *Creag Ealasaid*, or *Ealasaid a' Chuain*, the latter being apparently the older designation, dating from a time when *cuan* was still used in its original sense of harbour or inlet. In the modern language Ealasaid means Elizabeth, but the connection of this mighty rock with a name of such a mean-

[1] See MacBain's *Etymological Dictionary*.

ing is rather hopeless. The real origin is more likely to be found in the Old Irish *ail*, rock, with extensions, and an exact parallel is provided by the Gaulish name Alisontia (for Alixontia), meaning the rocky place, which in Gaelic gives Ealasaid, just as O. Ir. *ailech* gives Gaelic *eileach*, as in na h-Eileacha Naomha, the holy stone-houses, now usually, but erroneously, referred to as Eilean nan Naomh, or such like. Compare also Craig-ellachie.

From *torc*, boar, Welsh *twrch*, comes *Dùn Turcaid* in Stratherrick. Do'ach Dhùin Turcaid, the davach of Dunturket, lay to the east of the river Fechlin. I had this information from John Cameron, Inchanlennie, in September 1906, since when Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* have been published (1907). Therein [1] is stated: 'a myl be east Dalnakappul is Dun-Turket upon the east bank of Faechloyn.' Remains of the Dùn are said to exist, but I failed to find the site (somewhere near Loch nan Losgann).

With the same formation as Turcaid, we have Tarvit and Scots-tarvit in Fife, based on *tarbh*, bull, Welsh *tarw*, Gaulish *tarvos*, which, with different extensions, is seen in Tarvie, Tarves, Tarland (= tarbhlann).

Another example of similar type is *Abhainn Conait*, the river Conait, the principal left bank tributary of the Lyon, based on the root of *cù*, dog.

Treasaid in Rannoch is based on O. Ir. *tres*, conflict; Welsh *tres*, toil, stroke. It may echo an ancient battle, and is to be compared with the Sutherland *Treasaididh*, Tressady.

Another place-name of this type is Lovat, for which significantly enough no Gaelic exists other than *a' Mhor'oich*, the sea plain. The root is that of Latin *lav-are*, wash; *lutum*, mud; Gael. *loth*, mud. The site of Lovat is by the shore of the Beauly Firth. The Gaelic name is a sort of translation of the old Pictish.

Glenlivet, in Gaelic *Gleann Lìbheit*, is named after its

[1] Vol. ii. p. 556.

river, the Livet. The root is *līv-*, shine, glitter; Gaelic *lì*, splendor; Welsh, *lliw*, colour; and Lìbheit comes from a primitive *Līv-entia, the Glittering one, the name of a goddess doubtless. From the same root, with the common stream and goddess ending *-ŏnā*, comes *Lĭv-ŏnā, whence *Lìobhunn*, the Lyon of Glen Lyon.

Glenturret in Perthshire, mentioned in Robert Burns's song 'Blithe, blithe and merry was she,' is called after the Turret, in Gaelic *Turaid*, which gives its name also to Loch Turret. There is another, and less known, Turret and Glen Turret near Roy Bridge in Lochaber, and a third appears on the map on the southern flank of Mt. Battock, Kincardineshire. The name has of course been equated with *turaid*, a turret, which is quite a late loan from English, and could have nothing to do with an ancient stream-name. The root is that seen in *turadh*, cessation of rain; *tur*, dry; and the clue to the meaning is to be found in Irish *turloch*, dry loch, *i.e.* a loch that dries up in summer. A similar idea is seen in the expression '*eilean tioram*,'[1] dry island, *i.e.* an island to which one can walk at low tide. On this analogy we should expect the Turrets to be small streams which shrink much in summer, which they do. The primitive form of *Turaid* was *Tur-entia, meaning the 'drying one,' another goddess name.

Streams are not uncommonly called after trees, as for instance the Derwent, already mentioned, from the oak. In Scotland we have the Fernate of Glen Fernate in Athole. Fernate is in Gaelic *Fearnaid*, from *fearna*, alder, Gaulish *vernos*, and represents an old *Vern-entia or such, an exact parallel to Derv-entio.

Gleann Geunaid, in Kirkmichael parish, Perthshire, called in English Glen Derby, has a stream Geunaid. On the analogy of *breun*, *feur*, *feun* (from **breg-no-*, **veg-ro-*, **veg-no-* respectively), *geunaid* should arise from a root **geg*, given by Whitley Stokes with the meaning 'wie eine Gans schreien,' to cry like a goose, giving a primitive

[1] *Tioram* and *tur* are both ultimately from the same root.

**gegnos*, goose, whence O. Ir. **gén*, genitive *géoin*. Thus we may take Geunaid as meaning 'goose stream.' Mr. Kenneth Macleod informs me that the glen is a regular stage in the flight of geese from east to west, and that the name is understood locally to have some connection with geese.

The Mossat is a tributary of the Don. It is to be referred to the root of Gaelic *mosach* or *musach*, nasty; Welsh *mws*, effluvia, rank, and may perhaps be compared as to meaning with *Breunag*, from *breun*, rotten, a stream of Stratherrick, that joins Fechlin at Whitebridge.[1] With Mossat goes *Musadaidh*, also in Stratherrick, standing to each other in the same relation as Treasaid to Treasaididh.

Inverdovet in Fife appears in old records as Inverdufatha. Dovet looks like a derivative of *dubh*, Welsh *du*, black.

The Kintail *Duinnid*, with Inver-inate at its mouth, is based on Gaelic *donn*, brown, Welsh *dwn*, dun, dusky. It postulates a primitive *Donnentia.

In the south of Scotland this ending occurs in several river-names. It is probably that of the Teviot, written of old Tefeged. The Megget, which flows into St. Mary's Loch, is based on *mig*, bog, dealt with in No. v. of these papers. There is another Megget in the same region, a tributary of the southern Esk, with a place Megdale on its course.

The Armit is a tributary of Gala Water. It looks as if from Armentio, which actually occurs as an ancient Celtic river-name in Holder, without indication as to place. With it may be compared *Abhainn Armaidh* in Stratherrick, that notable stronghold of Pictish names.

Besides the above I have on my list such names as Res·tennot, Kennet, Moffat, Glen Bucket (in Gaelic *Gleann Buichead*), Dinnet, Tynet Burn (Banff), all more or less difficult names, some of them at least involving the termination above discussed and illustrated. In my opinion,

[1] The name *Breunag* is probably accounted for by the circumstance that there are as I was informed, some sulphurous springs near the stream.

all these names are extremely old, and I take them to belong to the Old British stratum. It is true that coming to us, as they have come, through Gaelic, they show a Gaelic veneer. They have been made to conform to Gaelic phonetics in the same way as loans from Latin and Old Norse have been made to conform. But their formation postulates an origin in the period of old insular Celtic, when the Celtic of Scotland was of the same type as the Gaulish of the first century B.C. They belong to a time far more remote than the oldest literary remains of Gaelic or Welsh, and are in short Old British or Pictish. In other words they belong to the period before Gaelic was spoken in Scotland.

braon

The Gaelic *braon* is given by the dictionaries as meaning 'a drop, rain.' The Irish is *bróen*, with same meaning. In Scottish topography the term, in its simple form or with extensions, occurs over a wide range, and usage clearly indicates its meaning here to be 'wet place.' No name involving *braon* is used with the article, so far as I know.

Braon is found simply in *Abhainn Braon*, in Ross-shire, rising in *Lochaidh Bhraoin*, and flowing through *Gleann Braoin* into the salt water *Loch Bhraoin* (Englished Broom). Similarly in Perthshire, near Pitlochry, are *Loch Braon* and *Abhainn Braon*, in English Loch Broom and River Broom. Fairburn, near Strathpeffer, is *Farrabraoin*, and below it and nearer the Conon is *Braon*. At the head of Strathnairn is *Braon*, in English Brin, a low flat, still in part wet, and formerly liable to flooding from a stream which is now banked.

With extension *-ach*, locative *-aigh*, we get *Cuil-bhraon-aigh*, Culbirnie (sometimes spelled Kilburnie), near Beauly, meaning Dampnook, or, possibly, nook of the damp place. This gives the clue to Birnie, best known as the name of a Morayshire parish which appears in early documents as Brennach. The difficult Gaelic *ao* sound troubled the

scribes. They represent it sometimes as *o*, sometimes by *a*, oftenest perhaps by *e*. Thus Cill Bhaodan, in Lorne, appears on record as Kilbodane, Kilbadan, Kilbedan; Loch Raonasa, Lochranza, appears as Lochransay and Lochrenasay; Loch Broom, Ross, as Loghbren. Brennach, therefore, may safely be taken to represent *Braonach*, locative Braonaigh, whence in modern Scots vernacular Birnie, meaning '(at) damp place' (cf. also Fair*burn*, above). The site of the Kirk of Birnie is close by the river Lossie. The alleged dedication to St. Brendan has no support in fact, so far as known to me, nor does Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, make any such suggestion.[1] With this goes Birnie in the Garioch, spelled in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* Brinie, Brinnie. Birness, near Ellon, was in 1392 Brenes,[2] where the ending -es is probably that seen in Alt-as, Gedd-es, etc. The other alternative, *innis*, a haugh, reduced to *is*, is less likely, for in the fourteenth century *innis* would almost certainly have left more trace of itself.

Braonan, little wet place, is the name of a spot in central Ross-shire, close by the river that flows into Loch Moir, and some miles to the west of Kildermorie. The ancient spellings of Birnam, on the Tay near Dunkeld, Brenan, Brynnan, at once make it clear that we are dealing with the same name. It should be possible still to get the Gaelic pronunciation of Birnam, but so far I have not heard it.

Broomage, in Stirlingshire, Bruminche 1458 (Johnston), may be for *braon-innis*, damp haugh; compare *braon* into *broom* above, and for *innis* into *-age*, cf. Coninnis into Connage; English rubbish into rubbage. *Innis a' Bhraoin*, Englished Inchbrine, occurs in Mr. W. Mackay's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, p. 582.

Prefixed Nouns used as Adjectives

This usage is a survival of the custom which prevailed in the oldest stage of Celtic, as seen in Gaulish, of placing

[1] Kilbirnie, in Ayrshire, is on a different footing, for St. Brinnan's Fair was held there (*Orig. Parochiales*), and kil- (church) is prefixed.

[2] Johnston's *Place Names of Scotland*.

the qualifying part of a compound noun first, whether the qualifying part happens to be noun or adjective, *e.g. Gabromagos*, steed-plain. In the older stages of Gaelic the same practice is common, but it fell out of fashion with the growth of the tendency to place the adjectival part after the noun, which is so distinctive of the modern language. English, on the other hand, and other Teutonic languages which habitually place the adjective in front of the noun have no difficulty at the present day in freely forming compounds in which nouns serving as adjectives stand first. Take, for instance, 'apple-tree,' '*abalcrann*': the former is natural and regular to our ears, the latter, even in modern spelling *ubhalchrann* is felt to be archaic, and we should use *crann ubhal* instead. It is only in compounds of old standing grown familiar by constant usage that modern Gaelic tolerates the ancient order, *e.g. iodhlann*, corn-enclosure; *banais* (*i.e.* ban-féis), woman-feast, wedding; *ceannmhag*, headrig, endrig; and I think that in all such cases it may be said that the ordinary speakers have little, if any, consciousness of the constituent elements. The prefixed adjective proper is similarly retained in old and familiar expressions, *e.g. seanfhacal*, old-word, proverb; a few adjectives (*deagh, sàr, droch*) are always prefixed, while *sean*, old, varies as to position. In place names the number of adjectives found prefixed is larger, referring chiefly to size, colour, or shape, but with the unvarying restriction that they are adjectives of one syllable.[1]

Subjoined are instances of nouns prefixed with adjectival force. All, of course, have the stress accent on the first syllable. It is to be noted that in several cases the prefixed noun is dissyllabic. I add the article in the few cases where it is used.

Am Bannath, Bonar, 'bottom-ford.'
Beala'drum, Belladrum (Beauly), 'fordmouth-ridge.'

[1] The older language was freer in this respect, and it would be interesting to determine at what period the restriction began to operate. I have never found a clear instance of a dissyllabic adjective being prefixed in our Gaelic names of places.

Benndealt, 'peak-saddle' (v. *Celtic Review*, vol. v. p. 340).
Calagart (Loch Katrine), 'harbour-field.'
Calasraid, Callander, 'harbour-street,' 'ferry-street.'
Carnsgeir (Loch Broom), 'cairn-skerry.'
Catinnis (Dalmally), 'wildcat-mead.'
Ceannchnoc, Kenknock (Inverness-shire, Glen Lyon and Glen Lochay), 'head-hill.'
Ceanndoire, in Barra-cheanndoire, Barrachandar (Taynuilt), 'head-copse.' The full name means 'head-copse ridge.'
Ceanndoir in Loch Ceanndoir, now Loch Kinnord (Aberdeenshire), 'head-water' (possibly, but less probably, 'head-copse').
Ceanndrum, Kendrum (Balquhidder), 'head-ridge.'
Colldrum in Kingoldrum (Forfar), 'hazel-ridge.' The Gaelic of Kingoldrum, got by Mr. F. C. Diack from an aged woman in Braemar who had the traditional Gaelic form of many Forfar names, is *Cionn-colldruim* 'at hazel-ridge head.'
an Conbhacan, 'the dog-hook' or 'dog-bend,' locally 'dog-tetherstick'; the name of a stone idol still extant in Glen Lyon.
Conchra (Lochalsh and Glendaruel), 'dog-pen,' 'wolf-trap'?
Conchraig (Creich, Aberdeenshire, Strathearn, and *passim*), 'dog-rock.'
Conghleann, Conaglen (Kilmallie), 'dog-glen,' 'wolf-glen.'
Conghlais (Tyndrum and Banff), 'dog-water.'
Coninnis[1] (Dalmally), 'dog-haugh.' *Connage* (Inverness) is the same word Englished.
Craiginnis, Craignish, 'rock-haugh.'
Dairsie (Fifeshire), of old Deruasyn, Dervasyn, 'oak-stance.' Cf. Dulsie.

[1] Cf. Condere (*v.* Condoire) i. doire nan con, i. doire a mbítis coin allta prius et in eo lupe habitabant: (a grove in which wild dogs were wont to be formerly and she-wolves dwelt therein).—Hogan, *Onomasticon*, *s.v.*

an Damhath, Dava (Grantown-on-Spey), 'stag-ford,' 'oxford.'

Deirea'camas, ·Derricambus (Glen Lyon), 'hind-loop,' 'last-loop.' It stands on the last bend made by the Lyon before entering the Pass of Lyon.

Dealganros, ·Delginross, ·Dalcross (Inverness, Strathearn, and Glentilt), 'prickle-point,' or 'prickle-wood.'

Dulfhasaidh, Dulsie; *Drochaid Dhulfhasaidh*, Dulsie Bridge on Findhorn, 'plateau-stance.' Cf. Dairsie.

Dùnrath, ·Downreay (Caithness), 'strong-fort.'

Easdoir' in Craggan-estar (Loch Tay), 'waterfall copse,' or 'gully-copse.' In Perthshire, at the present day *eas* means usually a steep, rough gully with water flowing through it. A waterfall is *spùt*. In this particular case there is a steep gully with two waterfalls and a rapid within a few yards of the 'craggan.' The gully still possesses a *doire* of natural wood.

Eigintoll (Ross-shire), 'stress-hollow,' a small corry very difficult of access.

Farnaway (Muir of Ord), *fearnmhagh*, 'alder plain'; the name of an old division of Ross, now obsolete.

Fartairchill, ·Fortingal, 'fortress-church,' with reference to the ancient round tower on the rock above Balnacraig near the church of Fortingal (v. *Celtic Review*, vol. vi. p. 236, where the suggestion as to the Roman camp requires amendment).

Feurloch, *Feurlochan* (Ross and *passim*), 'grass-loch,' 'grass-lochlet.'

Lasantulaich (Rannoch), 'fire-knoll'?

Migeaghaigh, *Migeachaigh*, Migovie, Migvie (Strath-errick, Strathdearn, Aberdeenshire, etc.), 'bog-plain,' v. *Celtic Review*, vol. vii. p. 365.

Mucinnis, Ardmucknish (Lorne), 'swine-meadow.'

Mucomhaigh, ·Muckovie (Inverness), 'swine-plain.'

Muighinnis, ·Moyness (Nairn), 'plain-mead.' So *Mag Innis* in Ireland (Hogan).

Multomhaigh, ·Multovie (Alness), ' wedder-plain.'
Sliginnis, Slignish (Ardnamurchan), ' shell-mead.'
Taranaich, ·Darnaway (Forres), ' ? -plain.' Lachlan Shaw says: ' In Irish Taranich, probably from Taran or Tarnach, *i.e.* thunder, because there Jupiter Taranis may have been anciently worshipped.' The Gaelic form as given above was got by me independently from Mr. J. Mackintosh, Ardclach, in November of 1906. It is well known.
Tarbhlann ·Tarland (Aberdeen), ' bull-field.' [1]
Tollachadh (the site of Kildermorie Lodge, Ross-shire), ' hole-field.' The O.S. Map thoughtfully improves the name of the hill immediately north of it to ' *Meall Toll a' Choin*,' really *Meall Tollachaidh*.

THE REV. GEORGE HENDERSON, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT.

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

DR. HENDERSON, whose lamented death at the early age of forty-seven took place on the 26th of June last, was for the last seven-and-twenty years one of the most devoted students of Celtic in Scotland. He had opportunities, of which he took full advantage, of being better equipped for the comprehensive study of this difficult subject than are as a rule open to Gaelic-speaking students. He had, for example, the great privilege of receiving a sound secondary education, together with a powerful intellectual stimulus and an insight into the scientific study of Gaelic, from the late Dr. MacBain, in the Raining School of Inverness. In the University of Edinburgh he went through the Arts curriculum with great credit, specially distinguishing himself in English Literature, Philosophy, and Celtic. In the Celtic classes Dr. Henderson took a foremost place, obtaining, among other distinctions,

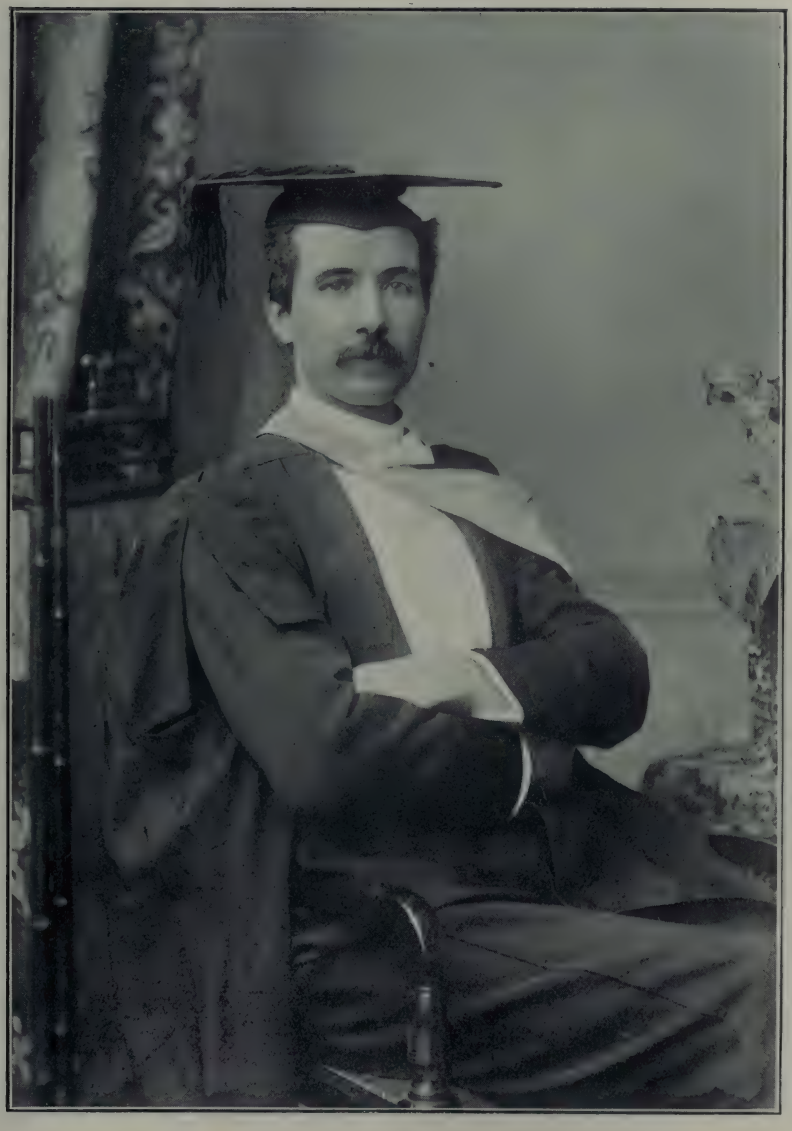
[1] Restored form.

the valuable Macpherson Scholarship, and eventually becoming Examiner for the M.A. Degree in Celtic.

The ardent student was able to satisfy a desire for wider experience and culture by passing a year or two on the Continent of Europe. There, beside taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Vienna, Dr. Henderson acquired a familiarity with French and especially with German, which was of the utmost benefit to him in his further Celtic studies. Later he entered Jesus College, Oxford, where he studied under Principal Sir John Rhys, and obtained the Degree of B. Litt. in consideration of a special research in the dialects of Scottish Gaelic, an essay which was afterwards enlarged and printed.

Meanwhile the devoted Celtic student became a minister of the Church of Scotland, and was eventually settled in the remote parish of Edrachillis, in the west of Sutherlandshire. His Celtic studies were pursued with undiminished ardour, but he found time to edit the Autobiography of the late Evander M'Iver of Scourie, a well-known gentleman, who for many years administered the extensive domains of the Duke of Sutherland in these outlying parts. About six years ago the Kelly MacCallum Lectureship in the University of Glasgow becoming vacant, it was generally felt that Dr. Henderson was the most suitable man available for the appointment. It was offered to him and accepted. The Lectureship was placed upon a permanent footing only a few months before the distinguished occupant passed away.

Dr. Henderson's contributions to Celtic literature are numerous, and cover pretty much the whole of the Gaelic portion of the wide domain. Leaving more or less fugitive papers out of account, the more important are the following: an edition of the poems of John Morrison of Harris (1893-96); *Leabhar nan Gleann* (1898); *Fled Bricrend*, with translation and notes (Irish Texts Society, vol. ii.); the Gaelic dialects, already mentioned (*Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, vols. iii., iv.); the '*Fionn* Saga,' not completed (*Celtic Review*, vols. i. ii., iii.); the *Norse Influence on Celtic*



THE REV. GEORGE HENDERSON, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT.

Scotland (1910); *Survivals in Belief, Cult, and Ritual among the Celts* (1911); and an edition of Nicolson's *Gaelic Proverbs*, upon which he was engaged when the end came.

This is a goodly list. The volumes from first to last bear evidence on every page of unwearied industry, wide research, and much learning. And yet, from one's estimate of the knowledge and capacity of the author, one cannot help the feeling that the best of them might have been better. The impression remains that Henderson's judgment and sense of perspective in small things as in great were apt to be dulled by the burden of his learning. To take one of the author's earlier volumes. He entitles it the *Book of the Glens*, and he intended the contents to be his own personal contribution to Scottish Gaelic literature. But the volume opens with a translation from a German periodical of Professor Zimmer's valuable papers on 'Matriarchy,' and closes with a translation of the old Gaelic legend known as *Noinden Ulad*. In the middle of the volume appears a not very successful rendering into modern Gaelic of the Vision of Adamnan from *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*. Flanked by these foreign and old-world neighbours are very interesting poems recovered by Dr. Henderson in various parts of the Highlands, and his transliteration of a large portion of the Fernaig MS., *i.e.* the contents of the volume as originally conceived and indicated in the title. In the later and more elaborate treatises, where a certain amount of repetition is necessary, and a turning to side issues sometimes allowable, one feels that frequent compression would enhance the value of the exposition. Dr. Henderson's attitude towards our standard orthography cannot but affect one's estimate of him as a student of Scottish Gaelic. He himself says, 'I have no quarrel with the rigid traditional script, *in its place*.' If Gaelic literature is to flourish the 'traditional script' must be adhered to, except when one is professedly trying to reproduce phonetically local pronunciation, or where the ring of a line of verse necessitates a departure from it. The place of the traditional script, in the mind of

Dr. Henderson, was something very different from this. So far as known to me he printed but little of his own in prose, and nothing in verse. What he printed from the dictation of others, he gave as he thought they sounded it. To a few forms he appears to have been indissolubly wedded. Occasional lapses apart, he always wrote *seo* instead of the usual *so*; *dhom* for *dhomh*, and other such variants. To the form *-ibh* in the second plural, imperative, he had a peculiar aversion. As an historical scholar he knew that the old form was *-idh*, and this was also his own localism. That the clash of this *-idh* with the pronoun *sibh* produced the sound *-ibh* over a wide area, and that the scholars of Ireland and Scotland adopted the form in their script, he either did not know or did not regard. He writes: 'Imperatives, second plural in *-ibh*, I have never heard used in Gaelic as actually spoken. They are pure corruptions. If a vote were taken at the present day this idol, which exists mostly in the grammarians' heads, would soon go the way of all flesh.' That the merits of a linguistic form should he decided by vote is an unusual suggestion from a scholar, and in this particular instance the vote would go against Dr. Henderson. Later, when travelling in connection with his researches into Gaelic dialects, he visited many districts where he never heard but the *-ibh* sound, although to what extent the experience modified his views on this and other points in Gaelic phonetics, I am unable to say. It is not improbable that it was something akin to this attitude towards traditional forms that led him in later years to persist in writing, even in English, *Gadhelic* instead of *Gaelic*.

It is pleasing to turn from matters such as these to the lovable personality, whom all who knew him deeply mourn. No one who met Dr. Henderson, however casually, but was impressed by his sweet disposition, his whole-hearted desire to do good, and the simple and totally unaffected manner with which he carried his weight of learning. Those who knew him best: the teachers who

taught him; his fellow-students, although he did not share in their games, and shrunk from their noisy debates; the clergymen under whom he served; the feeble and despondent to whose physical and spiritual needs he ministered so tenderly; the students whose studies he directed; the friends who gathered round him,—all have the same story to tell; they admired the student and scholar, but their affection and esteem for the man exceeded their admiration. I have myself known him for twenty-seven years. We discussed many men and many subjects, and I never heard a harsh judgment or a disparaging word pass his lips.

MARBHRANN DO 'N T-OLLAMH ALASDAIR MACGHILLE-MHICHEIL, UGHDAR *CARMINA GADELICA*

LE ALASDAIR CAMSHRON, Bard Thurnaig

O! 's goirt an sgeul a' rinn ar léireadh,
'N diugh gur deurach a tha'n sluagh,
'S iomadh Gaidheal a tha cràiteach,
Fios a' bhàis a' thigh'n ma'n cuairt;
Alasdair Macghillemhicheil
Dhol á tim oirnn fhìn cho luath,
Sud am fìrean a bha prìseil,
'S duilich sinn e bhi 's an uaigh.

'S ann tha'n ionndrainn anns an teaghlach
As an tugadh reul an àigh,
Tha'r comh-fhulangas gu léir riuth,
Anns a' bheum a rinn an cràdh;
Ach cha chòir a bhi 'ga chaoidh,
'S gur teachdair-aoibhneis dha am bàs—
Chum 's gu'n sealbhaicheadh e 'n oighreachd
Dh' ullaicheadh do chloinn nan gràs.

Ceann na céille, còm na féile,
Aigne spéiseil, cridh' na h-uaisl',
Gnùis na fàilte, beul a' mhànrain,
Tuigse nàduir thug dha buaidh;
Inntinn stòld bu mhilse glòir,
A thuigeadh ceòl, 's a sheinneadh duan,
'S duilich mi 'ga chur an rann,
Is gun e ann a thoirt domh cluas.

Chaill a' Ghaidhlig fear a dàimhe,
'S mor am bearn a tha 'n a cleòc,
Bho'n a thriall e tha i cianail,
Bidh i 'm bliadhn' na culaidh-bhròin;
Thuit am *prop* a bha 'n a taice,
Cas an asdair 's as cheum bheò,
Chumadh suas a cliù 's a creideas,
Eadar Irt is Tigh Iain Ghròt.

Riamh cha'n fhaca sinn 's cha chuala,
Fear cho uasal riut 'na d'dhòigh,
Dhiult thu saoibhreas agus staoile,
B' fhearr leat sloinnteireachd ar seòrs;
Chum 's gun àrdaicheadh tu cànain
'S cor nan Gaidheal anns gach seòl,
Riamh cha d' fhàg thu clach gun tionndadh
Chum 's gun ionnsaicheadh sinn còrr.

Bha thu maiseach ann am pearsa,
Foinneamh, reachdmhor, tlachdmhor, beò,
Sgeadaicht' an trusgan nan Gaidheal,
Bho do bhreith gu d' bhàs a sheoid;
Calpa cruinn bha grinn fo'n fhéileadh,
Sporan-béin le bucaill sheòighn,
'S cha robh glas air riamh roimh 'n fheumach,
'S tric a sheas thu fein a' chòir.

'S iomadh ceum a rinn thu shiubhal,
'Cruinneachadh, 's a' trusadh sgeòil,
Eadar Barraidh agus Uidhist,
Muile, 's Cola, 's Ile 'n fheòir;
An Tiridhe 's ann an Rùm,
'S gu tric a null dh' Eilean-a-cheò;
Bhiodh do pheann 'na dheann à sgriobhadh,
H-uile cialtradh a tha seòighn.

Dh'fhag thu taisgeach as do dheighidh,
Chaoidh nach teirig is nach crion;
Ortha 's ubagan nan Gaidheal
Chuir thu 'n àirde ann an rian;
Dh' eadar-theangaich thu gu Beurla,
H-uile creud a réir am foirm;
'S fhuair thu urram mòr gun dìth,
Le LL.D. a chuir ri t' ainm.

Cha 'n fhaca duine riamh do ghnùis
Nach iarradh ùine chaitheamh leat,
'N uair a thòisicheadh do chòmhradh,
Gheibhte sòlas nach gabh cleith;
Bhiodh gach uair a' ruith gun fhios,
'S tu toirt dhuinn fiosrachadh as ùr,
'S an àm dhuit triall b'e 'r miann do leantuinn
Gu bhi mealtuinn tuilleadh iùil.

O! sinn tha bochd an diugh as d' aonais,
Fhir ar gaoil cha 'n 'eil thu beò,
Ach tha 'r dochas anns an Ard-righ
Gu meal thu sìth an Tìr na Glòir:
A bhi gearan tha e dàna,
Ach 's E fein as fearr ort còir;
'Smile tha mile beannachd as do dhéigh
'S mo bheannachd féin leat leis a' chòrr.

DR. HAVERFIELD AND THE SAXON ADVENT IN BRITAIN

Dr. Haverfield's latest utterance on the subject of the Saxon advent in Britain appears in *The Cambridge Medieval History* (1911), vol. i. pp. 380-1.

(*a*) *The date of the Saxon Advent.* Dr. Haverfield states that the 'Saxons' had begun to harass Britain before A.D. 300, and were a serious danger from about 350 onwards. At first they were pillagers; later they became settlers. The important question rises as to when exactly the 'Saxons' changed from being pillagers into settlers. Dr. Haverfield answers that the exact time is unknown, 'nor can we hope to fix a precise date.' Nevertheless 'it obviously occurred early in the fifth century.' Thus, Dr. Haverfield throws overboard the Bedan date of in or about 449, as well as the 428 indicated by the *Historia Brittonum.* It is well to say here that the *Excidium Brittaniae* of a supposed Gildas, writing at a supposed half-time break of Anglo-Saxon Conquest, fixes the first arrival of the English in Britain no small interval after A.D. 446.[1]

(*b*) *The occasion of the Saxon settlement.* Dr. Haverfield believes that the 'Saxons' formed settlements on the east coast and began the English invasion of Britain as the result of their having been called in by the

[1] That the *Excidium Brittaniae* makes the Saxons to arrive only a few years after A.D. 446, that is, in or about the 449 of Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle*, is a most unwarranted assumption. Not only does the author not say so, but what he does say postulates a much longer interval. I am guilty of this 449 assumption in the *Celtic Review*, i. 291, but see my papers on the Picts, Scots, and Saxons in the *Excidium Brittaniae* in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for 1910 and 1911.

Britons, who needed their assistance. The Britons, says Dr. Haverfield, were being harassed 'by attacks of all kinds' in the early fourth century (doubtless fourth is a slip for fifth), and so the tradition seems probable that they adopted a common device of that age of setting a thief to catch a thief. In the legends 'Vortigern of Kent,' as Dr. Haverfield describes him, was the setter, and Hengest and Horsa the ones who were set. Without attaching much weight to the names, Dr. Haverfield maintains that 'the incident is sufficiently well attested and sufficiently probable to find acceptance.'

Dr. Haverfield twice associates Vortigern with Kent, saying first that he 'is named in the legends Vortigern of Kent,' and afterwards mentioning Durovernum (Canterbury) as 'presumably the capital of Vortigern.' It should be pointed out, however, that in none of the 'legends' on which all subsequent accounts of Vortigern are based is that king called 'Vortigern of Kent,' nor do they give any support to Dr. Haverfield's presumption that Durovernum or Canterbury was Vortigern's 'capital.' (i.) In the *Excidium Brittaniae* the *superbus tyrannus* (who has ever been identified with Vortigern, the very terms being perhaps the equation of *vor* + *tigern*, overlord), is clearly treated as the supreme leader of Britain, south of the great Stone Wall, for the Britons are made to have been all driven south of the Wall by Picts and Scots. At his direction the Saxons first settled *in orientali parte*, in the eastern portion of the island, which might mean anywhere from Tynemouth to Hampshire or thereabouts. There is nothing in the *Excidium Brittaniae* to associate Vortigern specially with Kent. (ii.) In the *Historia Brittonum* Vortigern is first introduced as reigning in Britain sometime after the end of Roman rule. He is made to present Horsa and Hengist with the island of Thanet. Then he is made to give Hengist the region of Kent in exchange for Hengist's daughter, and the narrative goes on to say that Kent was handed over to the pagans without the knowledge of its king, Guoyrancgonus. Afterwards he is made to give them Essex and Sussex as well. It is clear, therefore, that according to this 'legend' there is no ground to suppose that Vortigern was 'Vortigern of Kent' with Canterbury as his 'capital.' (iii.) In the *Historia Regum Brittaniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth Vortigern is first introduced as *consul Gewisseorum*, consul of the Gewissei, or West Saxons, as they were afterwards better known. This fixes Vortigern in the west rather than in the east, and indicates who the Saxons were, with whom he allied himself. In any case he is not 'Vortigern of Kent.' Subsequently, of course, he is made to become one of Geoffrey's absurd kings of all Britain. (iv.) Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, following the *Excidium Brittaniae*, treats Vortigern as king of the Britons, who invited the English to Britain and assigned them a place to settle in the eastern portion of the island. (v.) In the *Saxon Chronicle* Vortigern is a king of the Britons, as in Bede.

Of course, Dr. Haverfield may be referring to some much later stories, but the above are the earliest accounts of Vortigern, and in not a single

instance is Dr. Haverfield justified in associating Vortigern closely and specially with Kent and Canterbury.

(*c*) *The course of the Saxon invasion.* The first settlements, says Dr. Haverfield, were 'on the east coast.' The English swept rapidly over the lowlands of South Britain, but were checked when they reached the hills. There were thus two regions in southern Britain where the sequel of the English invasion was different, the region of the lowlands towards the east, and the region of the uplands towards the west and north.

It was in the lowlands, says Dr. Haverfield, that fighting went on for several generations. In fact, the region of the lowlands became a debateable land, where neither Romano-British city life could safely endure, nor the English take firm hold and settle. This theory of Dr. Haverfield differs from the testimony of the *Excidium Brittaniae*, which says that the English in one grand sweep drove the Britons completely out of the lowlands into the uplands. The cities perished at once. Town and country alike were devastated by fire and sword from the eastern portion of the island to the western ocean, and Romano-British civilisation came to an abrupt end. Not until the Britons were cooped up in their mountains, forests, and sea-slands, did they venture to make a stand. And when at last they emerged and won their first victory, it was not to recover lost ground, but to save themselves from total annihilation. The fighting which ensued was between the Britons of the uplands and the Saxons of the lowlands. Now did the one win and now the other, and this continued until the year of the obsession of Badonicus Mons, when Saxon aggression ceased.

Not one of the five kings of 'Brittania' whom St. Gildas addresses in his *Epistola* before 550 can be shown to have ruled outside the region of the uplands, that is, Wales and the Devonian peninsula.

(*d*) *The region of the uplands.* Dr. Haverfield assures us that Roman civilisation had established itself throughout the whole of South Britain, but in the uplands it had not established itself in its higher forms. In the uplands the 'Keltic element' was never quite extinct, and being perhaps reinforced by immigrations from Ireland re-asserted itself afresh. There Roman civilisation wore down. The 'Keltic' speech reappeared, and 'late Keltic art' passed on an artistic legacy to later times. Nevertheless, says Dr. Haverfield, 'the old idea that Britons and Romans were still two distinct and hostile racial elements has, of course, been long abandoned by all competent inquirers.' It even seems certain to Dr. Haverfield that in years to come the Britons considered themselves 'Romans.'

Dr. Haverfield, as we have seen, distinguishes between the region of the uplands and the region of the lowlands. In the uplands the English met with effective resistance, so that, whereas, according to Dr. Haverfield, the region of the lowlands was a debateable land for several generations between the provincials and the English, the region of the uplands was not so. In fact, says Dr. Haverfield, 'the Romanised Britons' of the lowlands retired into the uplands of Wales and Strathclyde. This would imply

of course that the Roman element in the uplands was reinforced and strengthened.

One cannot but regret that Dr. Haverfield does not provide his readers with evidence in support of his statement, which he makes so definitely, that 'Romanised Britons' of the lowlands retired into Wales and Strathclyde. It is true that according to the *Excidium Brittaniae* there was a displacement of Britons from the lowlands of south-east Britain to the uplands of the south-west, but not to Strathclyde, for the Picts and Scots had long since driven the citizens from north of the great Stone Wall. The displacement was from the south-east of Britain, south of the great Stone Wall, into the south-west, that is, into Wales and the Devonian peninsula where Gildas's five kings are ruling in the first part of the sixth century. What the *Excidium Brittaniae* teaches is that there was a retirement of Britons from Scotland into England owing to the pressure of Picts and Scots, and then that there was a retirement of Britons from England into Wales and the Devonian peninsula owing to the pressure of the English. Strathclyde is therefore ruled out, and Dr. Haverfield does not mention the Devonian peninsula, where Gildas's Constantine was ruling.

Moreover, the *Excidium Brittaniae* knows nothing of the then presence of 'Romans in Britain,' for it tells us plainly that the last of the Romans was Ambrosius Aurelianus, who had long since been dead. The Britons, whom the author imagined to have been driven *en masse* into Wales and the Devonian peninsula, were not Romans like Ambrosius, but Britons such as he himself was familiar with. In fact they were what we would now call the Welsh,[1] Romans like Ambrosius were exceptions. It is clear, then, that the author of the *Excidium Brittaniae* held the old idea of a distinction between Britons and Romans, which Dr. Haverfield assures us has been 'long abandoned by all competent inquirers.'

One would like to ask Dr. Haverfield how is it that practically almost everything he says of the fate which befell the Roman lowlands applies also to the uplands, notwithstanding his alleged retirement of 'Romanised Britons' into the latter. Roman centres ceased in one as in the other. Wroxeter, not twenty miles from the present Welsh Border, was burnt soon after, if not before, A.D. 400. Is there a single country house or farm in the region of the uplands where in contrast to the lowlands the continuation of Roman civilised life can be traced in post-Roman times? Roman

[1] There is a passage in ch. 23 of the *Excidium Brittaniae* which has given rise to the assumption that its author regarded Latin as his native tongue. This assumption was also made by me in the *Celtic Review*, i. 295. The passage is as follows: *tribus, ut lingua eius exprimitur, cyulis, nostra longis navibus*, which is generally translated 'in three *cyulae* (keels), as it is expressed in their language (Saxon), but *longae navas* (ships of war) in our language (Latin).' It should be pointed out, however, that the Welsh for ship is *llong*, from the Latin *long*-a (navis); and as the author declines the Saxon word for *keel*, so he declines the Welsh word for *llong*. Translate, therefore, 'in three ships, *keels*, as it is expressed in their language, *llongeu* in ours.'

administrative boundaries were as lost in the west as in the east. We have no more certain knowledge of the old native tribal areas in Wales and the Devonian peninsula than in England. The Silures of South Wales disappeared as completely as the Atrebates of south England. What of house-plans and house furniture, hypocausts and mosaics, the fashion of brooches and pottery, to all of which Dr. Haverfield refers? Did such things as these survive longer in Wales than in England? In short, may we not say like Dr. Haverfield of the uplands as well as of the lowlands that they presented 'the scattered débris of a ruined world'?

I submit that if the 'Romans' of England retired into Wales before English invaders, we should find some very clear indications of it in early Welsh tradition. And yet although early Welsh tradition is full of reminiscences of settlements from Scotland and Ireland, there is not a hint as to any settlement from the plains of England. The *Excidium Brittaniae* is an exception, but then the *Excidium Brittaniae*, with which Dr. Haverfield's theories are so much at variance, is one of the worst-understood documents in historical literature. A. W. WADE-EVANS.

BOOK REVIEWS

Orain Ghaidhealach le Donnchadh Macantsaoir. Air an eadar-theangachadh agus air an cur a mach le DEORSA CALDAIR. Dun-eideann: Iain Grannd, 31 George IV. Bridge, 1912.

The Gaelic Songs of Duncan Mac Intyre. Edited with Translation and Notes by GEORGE CALDER. Edinburgh: John Grant, 31 George IV. Bridge, 1912. Pp. xl+535. 6*s. net.*

The interest that would under any circumstances attach to a new edition of the poems of Duncan Macintyre, best loved of Gaelic poets, is in the present case enhanced by the recent appointment of their editor and translator to the Celtic Lectureship in the University of Glasgow in succession to the late Dr. George Henderson. The externals of the work are worthy of the subject and reflect credit on printer and publisher. In this respect it may safely be taken as a model for future editions of Gaelic poets. The editor has done his work well and competently in respect of Biographical introduction and appendices illustrative of the text. He has added to our knowledge of the poet's life and circumstances, and the historical notes are good. Specially interesting are the reproductions of the water-colour picture of John Campbell (*Iain Caimbeul a' Bhanca*), and of the poet's discharge from the Breadalbane Fencibles, given in facsimile and bearing his own signature under the date 18th April 1799. The notes on the text include a useful collation of the previous editions, five in number. Here at p. 447 the M'Lachlan MS. should have been the M'Lagan MS. In the historical and explanatory notes, perhaps too much stress is laid (p. 481) on the alleged rivalry between Alexander Macdonald

(*Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*) and Duncan Macintyre. The authenticity of the tradition as to the scurrilous verse hurled at Duncan when passing Macdonald's school is open to suspicion when we recall that Macdonald ceased schoolmastering in 1745 when Duncan Macintyre was only twenty-one years of age, and as yet unknown to fame. It is, besides, a far cry from Glenorchy to Ardnamurchan. The alleged Glenlyon tradition as to MacBhàidìdh (the eponymus of Làirig Mhic Bhàidìdh) is, I fear, not of much value. Mr. Calder inclines to connect MacBhàidìdh with the entry in Tighernach under the year 608, *Bass Fiachrach craich maic Baedan la Cruithnechu*, on the strength of a statement to the effect that the pool in the Allt Odhar at Fortingal, now called *Linne a' Phiocair* (the Vicar's Pool), was formerly called *Linne Fhiachraidh*. The only authority for this —and it is of the slenderest—is the late Mr. Charles Stewart. The last vestige of probability goes when we consider that Baedan should be, and is, represented in modern Gaelic by Baodan. The fact is that Mac Bhàidìdh is simply the Gaelic form of MacWattie. The MacWatties were a sept of the Buchanans of Leny, some of whom found their way to Argyll and elsewhere. The glossary of three pages might usefully have been extended. On p. 521 Mr. Calder wrongly, I think, translates *aoidh* by 'herd,' on the strength of O'Clery's gloss *ai, aoi .i. sealbh*. The passage where it occurs is on p. 186—

Sin am fearann caoin
Air an d'fhàs an aoidh,

which Mr. Calder renders

That's the pasture kind
Where grew the deer-herd fine.

Aoidh in this sense is unknown to Scottish Gaelic, and the rendering should be *aoigh*, pleasant countenance, with meaning, 'that's the kindly land, which showed the smiling face.' Compare for idiom,

'S ann ort fein a dh'fhàs an loinn.

So far, with qualifications such as have been noted, it is possible to speak of Mr. Calder's work with pleasure. The crucial point, however, by which his Gaelic scholarship must be judged, is the translation. The task of translating Duncan Macintyre is no light one. No man ever used the Gaelic language with more idiomatic accuracy or greater command of vocabulary. No Gaelic poet equals him as a master of clear melodious versification. His logic or his sequence of statement may falter, but never his ear for melody. To translate him successfully into English prose demands an expert in both languages. To translate him into English verse is infinitely more difficult. It is too apt to be a case of *an làmh an deigh an locair*, the hatchet after the plane, unless indeed the translator happens to be also a poet practised in English as Macintyre was in Gaelic. Mr. Calder attempts more: he attempts a line by line translation in verse which shall at the same time preserve some resemblance to the Gaelic original. He has attempted too

much. The result is in various ways very far from satisfactory. The English has too often to be read with un-English stressing. One has ever and anon to refer to the Gaelic for the meaning of the English. Ideas not found in the original are put into the translation *metri causa*, sometimes with unhappy effect, *e.g.* 'the does, the roebuck *lowing*' (p. 407). The translator is driven to desperate expedients such as the free use of Lowland Scots, *e.g.* at p. 171—

A full and keen quick e'e
With no squint in it,
A lash 'neath grey e'e brie
To tak' tent on it.

On three occasions he actually uses Latin words without even italics: —

To its usual each thing brought is
With joy and gaudetotes,
When the bailiff will get notice
Willy nilly to leave yon. (p. 61.)

Such high strain in your frame
In your mind aye puts vir,
Great your service in war
As a king's officer. (p. 103.)

What does *vir* here mean, anyway?

Neat horn for the powder,
Yellow flask, measured os,
Spotted targe of thick studs
Spike screwed in to its boss. (p. 107.)

To the same desperate striving of an unpractised hand after metrical form may be assigned, in part at least, such cheap expedients as the redundant 'it,' and such like; the use of English words in wrong or unnatural sense, *e.g.* 'mere' for 'moor'; 'the wind she is snuffing' for 'sniffing'; 'no wish had they in plight' (which makes no sense); 'enfilading' for 'volleying'; 'skaith' (p. 31) for 'panic'; 'I'll wend me'; 'a branch with blooms full from tip to earth at her,' where 'at her' is put in without regard to sense to rhyme with 'matter,' and so on to weariness. Examples of very dubious English are, *e.g.* 'thou's the maid' (p. 197), 'thou would tread' (p. 203); 'while thou lives' (p. 207); 'thou . . . wilt not survive, though gain'st delay' (p. 421). It is but fair to say that there are passages not a few that go well. On p. 187 ('Praise of Ben Doran') Mr. Calder is at his best; the 'Song to the Bottle,' too (p. 296), despite some lapses, clinks not unmusically—

He's not in the land
But is bent on it and
Though hard may the struggle be,
How can we possibly
Be he plain man or grand,
All the honours that cram.
Rearing the family,
Keep from the dram?

The pity is that one never feels safe from meeting something that sets the teeth on edge, *e.g.* what of 'cram' above? In this connection may be

mentioned the continually recurring and most objectionable use of Scots 'quean' as a translation of *rìbhinn*. The 'colouring' of the two words is widely different.

On the whole it must, I think, be said that Mr. Calder would have shown better judgment had he given his translation in the form of prose.

As to the accuracy of the translation, it must be said definitely that in very many places—hundreds of places, in fact—Mr. Calder has plainly failed to understand his text. One has, of course, to allow for his metrical exigencies, and sometimes it is not quite clear where to draw the line, but when all allowance has been made there is still ample material to justify the statement made above.

On p. 202 (song to his young wife):—

Chuir i guin bhàis fad ràith am mhuineal

is rendered, 'She made a death wound in my neck an ell measure.' The meaning is, 'She planted a death wound in my neck for a quarter of a year.'

On the same page—

'S ann thog e mi 'm prìs o'n tìm so 'n uiridh,
An nì 's an urrainn a fhuair,
Sguab do'n ìre fhìor-ghlain chruineachd,
An siol as urramaich' buaidh.

becomes—

It raised me in wealth since this time a year past,
I 've gotten the best that could be,
A sweep from the spilth of the purest wheat harvest,
The seed of the best quality.

Without stopping to inquire how this translation was come by, I may say that the meaning is, 'My value has gone up since this time last year, such stock and such backing I have got, a wheat-sheaf, too, of growth the purest, the grain that is of noblest virtue.'

On the same page *innis* is (as elsewhere) wrongly translated 'islands,' where it obviously means 'meadow.'

On the next page (206) we have the well-known—

Dheanainn dhuit ceann, is crann, is t-earrach,
An am chur ghearran an éill-

rendered—

Thy goodman I 'd be, I 'd plow, sow for thee, sure,
At time to put colts into leash.

How Mr. Calder got the meaning of 'sow' out of '*is t-earrach*' is beyond comprehension. The reading should be '*a's t-earrach*,' meaning 'in spring time,' formed on the analogy of '*a's t-samhradh*,' 'in summer time.' '*Dheanainn dhuit ceann*' does not mean 'thy goodman I 'd be'—he was that already—and in any case the meaning is impossible. The reference is to the old Highland style of ploughing, where one man held the stilts and another led the horses. The latter was called *ceannaire*, and the phrase means 'I would

lead the horses for thee at ploughing.' *Gearran* means 'gelding,' not 'colt.'[1] The meaning of the passage is: 'I would lead the horses or hold the plough for thee in spring-tide, at the time when the geldings are yoked.'

On p. 198 in the same poem :—

Thug mi i 'n uaigneas uair a bhruidhinn,
'S ann fhuair an nighean mo ghaol,
Is chluinneadh mo chluas an fhuaim a bhitheadh
Aig luathas mo chridhe ri 'm thaobh.

I took her away for an hour's conversation,
And then fell in love with my bride,
And my ear would betray to my own trepidation
My heart's pit-a-pat at my side.

The meaning is: 'I took her aside on a time to talk, the girl had indeed won my love, and my ear would hear the sound there would be of my heart's quick beat at my side.'

One more example may be cited from the same poem (p. 200) :—

Cha bhiodh sgeul-rùin, a b' iùl domh aithris,
A b' fhiù nach mealladh i uam.

And not a love lay in my deep recollection
Was worth, but she from me would have.

The meaning of the translation is obscure. The Gaelic means, 'There was not a secret I could tell, that was worth telling, which she would not wile from me.' Mr. Calder thinks that *sgeul-rùin*, a secret, has something to do with 'love.' The proverb *Cha sgeul-rùin e, is fios aig triuir air*, 'What three know is no secret,' would have kept him right, had he known it.

All the above instances are taken from one and the same poem, perhaps the most beautiful of all Macintyre's poems, and certainly one of the finest love-songs in existence. Besides these, there are in this same poem quite half-a-dozen cases of plain mistranslation.

The 'Song to Captain Duncan Campbell' is a typically easy one, yet there are a number of lapses (pp. 98 *seq.*).

'S mór do mheas aig na daoine
Bh'air do thaobh anns an uair sin.

Great respect had the men
On your side at that hour.

If this has any meaning, it is that 'the men had great respect shown them.' The real meaning is 'the men felt great respect for you.'

Chuir thu móran an gnìomh dheth.

Much you put it in peril.

---

[1] By limitation of meaning *gearran* became specially the agricultural horse in the West Highlands, and is now the *garron* of horsebreeders north and south.

For 'peril,' read 'practice,'—but perhaps 'peril' was required to rhyme with 'earl'!

Cha b'e t-fhasan bhi 'n tì
Air cuid nam fior dhaoine bochda.

Not your way to show zeal
While the real poor the cost bore.

The meaning is: 'It was not your way to seek after the means (goods, substance) of very poor men.'

Ann am fàsach na coille.

In pasture of woodland.

The term *fàsach* gives Mr. Calder continual trouble. He is divided between 'wilderness' (from *fàs*, waste), and 'place of growth' (from *fàs*, grow). I may be wrong, but I think that *fàsach* never has the latter meaning in Scottish Gaelic. It always means (1) a waste place, or (2) a lonely place, a place without cultivation or human dweller. Thus *fàsach na coille* should, I think, be rendered 'the lonely wood.'

Paidhir dhag air do ghiùlan,
B'e do rùn a bhi 'd shiubhal.

Pair of pistols upon you
Abroad —— your caprice.

'Your caprice' as a rendering of *do rùn* is absolutely unwarranted.

Cha chualas do mhì-chliu
Air do sgrìob feadh nan Garbh-chrioch.

Ne'er was heard your dispraise,
As you crossed the Roughbound.

Air do sgrìob means much more than this. The meaning is: 'No ill-fame was heard in consequence of your sojourn in the Rough Bounds.' The reference is to Captain Campbell's stay in Moidart and Arisaig in his official capacity after the 'Forty-five.

Le barantas dùbailt
Fhuair thu cliù na cliath-sheanchaidh.

You got with double warrant
Genealogical fame.

The reference in these lines is to Alexander Macdonald's praise of Captain Campbell—elsewhere, by the way, he dispraised him scandalously—coupled with Duncan Macintyre's own laudation. This would explain the 'double warrant,' and, if so, 'you got' should be 'you have got.' *Cliath-sheanchaidh* is a corruption of *Cliar Sheanchain*, the well-known collective name for 'bards,' and the last line should be amended to 'bardic fame.' The bards in question were Macdonald and Macintyre.

On p. 118 in the 'Satire on the Tailor':—

Beul do chléibh air a thachdadh
Air séideadh 's air brachadh,
'S e gu h-éididh air malcadh.

Your windpipe is stuffed up,
Fermenting and puffed up,
To a web your ills suck it.

Here Mr. Calder in some extraordinary way seems to think that *gu h-éididh* means 'to a vesture' or 'uniform' (*éideadh*), which he proceeds to misrender by 'web'! The fact is that he should have written *gu h-éitigh*, 'horribly.' How he got the rest, he alone can tell. The meaning of the third line is, 'And it is horribly putrid.'

The above examples, all, with one exception, taken from two poems, tell their own tale. The book is strewn with such. To pursue the subject further would only be wearisome. In respect of Gaelic scholarship, Mr. Calder's work can only be characterised as profoundly disappointing. It is one thing to know *about* Gaelic; it is another thing, and a very different thing, to know Gaelic. To have to write thus of the work of a highly-placed professed Gaelic scholar is no gracious task. But protest is necessary, unless, indeed, we are willing to justify the dictum of Dr. Samuel Johnson, that the Gaelic-speaking people are 'content, as they conceived grossly, to be grossly understood.'

W. J. WATSON.

The Book of Highland Verse: An English Anthology consisting of (a) *Translations from Gaelic*, (b) *English Verse relating to the Highlands.* Edited, with Introduction and Biographical Notes on the Gaelic Poets, by DUGALD MITCHELL, M.D., author of *A Popular History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland.* Paisley: Alexander Gardner. London: David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, W.C. 1912. Pp. li+408. 4*s.* 6*d. net.*

There was room for this comprehensive, judiciously selected, and well-arranged anthology. The laudable aim of the editor, says the introduction, is to make the general reader acquainted with the literature of the Scottish Gael, and if his purpose is not realised, the fault does not lie with him. In an up-to-date introduction, a succinct account is given of the Ossianic controversy, of the contents of the Dean of Lismore's book, the Fernaig MS. and various collections of Gaelic songs. The researches of recent scholarship in regard to the problem of the origin and meaning of the 'Feinn' and the poetry that has these and other heroes for its central figures is well condensed; and though the editor's own views are modestly veiled, there are clear indications of a critical and discriminating faculty which separates him widely from the merely uninformed enthusiast.

The anthology is divided into two parts. Part I. gives translations of (a) *Ossianic verse*; (b) *Early Gaelic verse other than Ossianic*; (c) *Modern Gaelic verse.* Part II. gives *English verse relating to the Highlands* and *Contemporary verse.* The range of the first part is sufficiently wide and varied to give the

English readers an opportunity of judging the merits of Gaelic poetry in English garb. The translations differ in merit as in kind. There are attempts to use the originals, as a 'basis on which to rear a poem that shall affect the reader as the original may be conceived to have affected the natural hearers,' which was Matthew Arnold's ideal. The spirited translations of Blackie and Buchanan and others come near to this ideal. Few translators have, however, arrived at Arnold's antithetic ideal of 'retaining every peculiarity of the original—with the greater care the more foreign it may happen to be.' The first of these ideals was aimed at by many translators. They have endeavoured to reproduce the enshrined effect which they themselves receive from the original, and though this is done at times with the interposition of a style that is not akin to the original, the effect is pleasing. Others have dealt more faithfully with their models, and though they have not succeeded in reproducing the elusive features that give Gaelic poetry much of its verve and beauty, their achievement has the merit of being neither burdensome nor laborious. Many of the gems of Gaelic poetry lie hidden in the neglected pages of the minor poets. They await translation. There is enough, however, in this Anthology to acquaint the English reader with the sombre beauty, the melancholy murmur, the intensity of feeling, the graphic descriptions, and the analytical force of the grand Gaelic descriptive and interpretative bards—of nature and human nature.

The second part of the anthology has an interest all its own. It shows how far great English-speaking poets came under the influence of the Celtic spirit. It is discernible in the sympathy with nature, and love for woodland, mountain, and sea which find expression in their verses brought under our notice in this collective form.

The book is neatly got up, and reflects much credit on the competent editor and publishers. D. M.

Welsh Poetry, Old and New, in English Verse. By Alfred Percival Graves, M.A. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Not a few attempts have been made lately to give English readers some idea of the character of Welsh poetry. The present volume is undoubtedly the most important of these. The two collections of the Rev. E. O. Jones aimed at representing some of the chief poets of the nineteenth century and of the present day, but Mr. Graves, spreading his net more widely, gives us here renderings of poems which extend in date from the *Gododin* to the *beirdd neuydd*—the poets of the new school which is exciting so much interest, friendly or hostile, to-day. To translate Welsh verse adequately into English is very difficult—how difficult, only those can know who have attempted it; and Mr. Graves is warmly to be congratulated on his success. There are, of course, criticisms to be made on single poems. The originals vary considerably in merit, and the translations naturally show a corresponding variation. Here and there the translator has perhaps departed

somewhat too widely from his original, as, for example, in dealing with Wil Hopcyn's exquisite 'Bugeilio'r Gwenith Gwyn,' where the rendering, though in itself a beautiful lyric, is perhaps unnecessarily free; but for the most part he has well preserved the mean between slavish literalness and mere paraphrase, and in several of the finest poems in the volume he keeps wonderfully close to the Welsh. One fault which appears in some cases was scarcely avoidable. Mr. Graves has made his renderings, not from the Welsh, but from prose translations furnished him by friends. It was hardly possible for him in such circumstances to reproduce the original atmosphere so well as if he had himself felt the Welsh rhythms; and it thus comes about that in some cases his translations, however good as English verse, do not really represent the effect of the Welsh. A case in point is Goronwy Owen's 'Last Judgment,' where the English, though very effective in itself, fails (to the ear of the present writer at least) to reproduce the 'grand style' of Goronwy.

'Cryn y gethern uppernawl,
A chryn, a dychryn y diawl;
Cydfydd y fall â'i gallawr,
Câr lechu'n y fagddu fawr,'

produces a quite different impression from

'While the Plague a-squat on her cauldron,
And the Devil and all his train
Of Error and Terror and Horror
Quake in the curst Mane.'

Such failures are, however, surprisingly rare, and often Mr. Graves has been very happy in catching the spirit of the Welsh. A notable instance is the really wonderful rendering of Huw Morus's 'Maid of Maids'; and he is very successful with many of Ceiriog's songs, whose apparent artlessness makes them peculiarly difficult to render satisfactorily into English.

Among Mr. Grave's triumphs may be specially mentioned (besides those referred to above) the two renderings from the pseudo-Rhys ap Rhiccert, Iolo Goch's 'Labourer,' Lewis Glyn Cothi's elegy on his son, the 'Bells of Aberdovey,' and the translations from Eifien Wyn. But these do not by any means exhaust the good things of the volume. The translator has in several cases succeeded in producing an effect corresponding as nearly as the English language will allow to that of the Welsh *cynghanedd*; but anything more than an approximation to it is next to impossible.

There are several misprints in the volume, particularly in the biographical notes at the end. These will doubtless be corrected in the second edition which, one may feel sure, will become necessary. Attention may here be directed to one or two slips which are not misprints. The 'Englynion y Misredd' are attributed to Aneirin: it would have been as well to mention that though they bear his name they are certainly far later than any part of the *Gododin*. The old date, *circa* 1340—*circa* 1400, is assigned to Dafydd ab Gwilym. Recent researches have made it probable that the real

date was more like *circa* 1320—*circa* 1365. Two poems of Hywel ab Owain are included; but the biography at the end is that of Hywel ab Einion ab Owain, an entirely different person. Rhys Goch ab Rhiccert is given as having 'flourished from 1140 to 1170.' That he may (if he ever existed) have done so is perhaps possible; what is certain is that the poems which pass under his name were written at a far later time. Mr. W. J. Gruffydd seems inclined to date them not very much later than Dafydd ab Gwilym; others, with more probability as it seems, would place them later, perhaps as late as the sixteenth century; but in any case they cannot be earlier than Dafydd.

In conclusion, since gratitude is notoriously a lively sense of favours to come, one may express the hope that in his second edition Mr. Graves will increase our debt by enlarging his collection. Some more renderings from Dafydd and the poets of his period would be very welcome, and there are several modern poets, not least that 'inheritor of unfulfilled renown,' Robert Owen, whom one would like to see translated by him. Among living poets Elphin and the recently published volume of Pan Jones may be recommended to his notice.

H. Idris Bell.

Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie. VIII Band 3 Heft. Halle a. S.; Max Niemeyer.

This number of the *Zeitschrift* opens with two interesting articles by Mr. R. L. Ramsay upon Theodore of Mopsuestia, the great Biblical critic of the fifth century, entitled, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms,' and 'Theodore of Mopsuestia in England and Ireland.' Theodore was a man much in advance of his time, whose attitude is almost modern. So advanced were his views that after his death he was anathematised by the Ecumenical Council of 553, and a long and bitter struggle resulted in the secession of the Nestorian Church—a church not unlike the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. Such critics—differing widely in many points from each other—as Renan, Cheyne, and Baethgen, accord him the rank claimed for him by the Nestorians of being the greatest interpreter of the early Church.

Mr. Ramsay has done his work in a thorough manner—has examined rubrics and MSS., compared psalters and writings of various shades with an open mind, so that his conclusions as to the work and standing of Theodore may be taken as conclusive. Hessen, O'Nolan, and Thurneysen give an instructive paper on the sources of the 'Wooing of Emer,' and Thurneysen has a critical article on the 'Táin Bó Cúalnge.'

A phrase in the text of 'Serglige Conculaind' which has puzzled our greatest scholars is shown by Mr. T. F. Rahilly and Mr. Paul Walsh to be the name of a place in Conaille Murthemne, and the latter gentleman has also a good piece of work in the Topography of 'Betha Colmáin,' which, as a native of the district, he has been able to study at first hand. Dr. Kuno Meyer contributes two articles besides an obituary notice, with frontispiece

portrait, of Ludwig Christian Stern, whose death at the age of sixty-six makes another blank in the short roll of Celtic Scholars.

The *Revue Celtique* (vol. xxxiii. No. 1) contains a supplement by G. Dottin to d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Catalogue of Irish Epic Literature*. 'The Reproach of Diarmad' (J. H. Lloyd, O. J. Bergin, and G. Schoepperle) is a *resumé* and study of the materials in Irish and Scottish Gaelic bearing on the elopement of Diarmad and Grainne. To the references on p. 50 to the giant *Ciuthach mac an Doill* may be added: (1) The broch or semi-broch on the east side of Loch Lomond, opposite Inch Lonan, is described by Buchanan of Auchmar as 'Castle na Fean, or the Giant's Castle.' The giant's name is given by Graham of Duchray (1724) as 'Keith Mac Indoill.' (2) At Uig, Lewis, a similar structure is known as *Dùn Chiuthaich*. According to Uig tradition (the) *Ciuthach* was slain by Oscar, at *Creag a' Chiuthaich*. (3) Further possible references are: *Reliq. Celt.*, i. 10 l. 1, pp. 415-419; K. Meyer's *Fianaigecht*, pp. 76, 86, 92 (*Cétach Cithach mac ríg Lochlann*); *Duanaire Fhinn*, p. 26, last line. The supposed derivation of *ciuthach* from *ciuth*, a pig-tail, would make the term modern, for *ciuth* is simply English 'queue.' On p. 52 the writers transliterate 'in feyth noyr roywaa rynyna' (*Dean of Lismore's Book*) as *an fíoch nior ro-mhaith rinne*, 'their anger was not very good toward us.' This should be, I think, 'am faithche 'nuair ruaidheadh roinne,' 'on field when points would be reddened.' For 'myr aweys in noyf chaischt,' one might suggest *mar a bhios an uaimh thaisgté*, 'the way in which we are hidden in a cave.' P. 55, *ri leac reòta*, means 'to a frozen slab.' *Cha mhiannach leam fhaicsinn aon* should be rendered, 'I desire to see none,' instead of 'none desires to see me.' *Bu ghile cré na sneachd air fàir* means 'who were whiter of body than snow on sky-line,' not 'brighter in nature than snow on the hillside.' P. 56, *dreach do shùl* is rather 'the colour of thine eyes' than 'glance of thy eyes.' *Ionmhuinne no mil' air srabh*, 'dearer than honey or a jet of milk,' should be 'dearer than honey on a straw.' (The hopeless variant *'b annsa na sa mhagh, na bha* suggests corruption.) *Cia maith* (var. *maoth*) *do ghlòir* is rather 'though thy speech is fair,' than 'though thy voice is soft.' *Seach a bhi aig Fionn 's an Fhèinn* means 'rather than be Fionn's wife among the Fiann,' not 'rather than all the Fiann ever had.' J. Pokorny writes on passages in *Echtra Connla*. E. Ernault continues *Le Mirouer de la Mort* with copious notes. K. Meyer contributes *Miscellanea*—Eremón, Macha, remáin, eráin, and a note on some passages of Tigernac's *Annals*.

In vol. xxxiii. Nos. 2 and 3, W. J. Gruffydd has a note on Bledhericus, Bledri, Bréri. Mary Williams prints a fragmentary Welsh MS. entitled *Llyma Vabinogi Jessu Grist*, being translation of a Latin text relating to the Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus. J. Loth continues his 'Contributions to the Study of the Romance of the Round Table.' J. Vendryes gives *Betha Juiliana*, an Irish version of the life of St. Juliana of Nicomedia. Josef

Baudin writes on the second future in Irish. J. Loth has a note on M.-Bret. *gloedic*, Welsh *gwledic*. The Diarmid story is continued under 'The Death of Diarmad.' The lay quoted from the *Dean of Lismore's Book* (*Reliq. Celt.*, i. 36), is difficult to transliterate. P. 162, *i mbíonn* (?) may quite well be *am binn*, i.e. 'wherein sweet,' etc. Verse 4 should begin *guidhir*, for the Dean's 'gwir.' The blank in v. 5, l. 2, may be filled by *beith*. The authors do not transliterate the second line of

'in senn tork shee be garv
di vag ballery na helve mok,'

Dr. Cameron prints Dr. M'Lauchlan's transliteration: 'do fhac ballardaich na h-alla-muic,' which is quite hopeless. The true reading is:—

'An seann torc sìdhe bu gharbh
do bh'aig Balaire 'n a sheilbh muc.'

'The old, fierce, fairy boar that Balar had in his herd of swine.'

For Balar and his pigs, *v. Duanaire Fhinn*, p. 30. The 'Mala Lee,' quoted from Campbell's *W. H. T.*, is an obvious corruption of *Balaire*, and should have been printed by Campbell as one word. *Càrn Bhalair* and *Càrn Bhalaire* are also mentioned in the Dean's book. On p. 165, v. 28, the rendering 'yve,' if retained, would give *aoibh*, pleasant countenance, which seems good sense. P. 169, v. 11, should be compared with Campbell's *W. H. T.*, iii. 79, v. 13. P. 171, *sliseag na cuartaig fhinn gheal*, 'a chip in the white, pure whirlpool,' should be 'a shaving in form of a pure white roll.' P. 172, v. 14, 'streams' should be 'straths.' The fact that this article and the preceding one on the 'Reproach of Diarmad' will form the basis of a study of the relation of the story of Diarmad and Grainne to that of Tristan and Isolt, to appear shortly in a volume on the origins of the Tristan romance, by G. Schoepperle, will serve to excuse the above somewhat detailed notes. It may be added that work on the *Dean of Lismore's Book*, to be successful, will always demand a good knowledge of Scottish Gaelic.

The numbers contain the usual valuable reviews and literary notices.

W. J. WATSON.

Part III. Vol. V. of the *Old Lore Miscellany*, printed for the Viking Club, London, contains several readable articles and notes. The interconnection between the lore of Orkney and Shetland and Gaelic-speaking Scotland is interesting. There is some suggestive if rather inconclusive discussion on place-names which may be Celtic or may not, and on the Shetland variety of pony: notes on witchcraft, old customs, a farmer's winter, and extracts from old kirk session records afford matter for comparison with more Celtic districts, and altogether this publication is doing a good work in recording old customs of the past and old legends which are in imminent danger of being forgotten.

A CONCISE OLD IRISH GRAMMAR AND READER

By Julius Pokorny, Ph.D., LL.D. (Vienna)

PREFACE

This little book has been written in order to serve as an easy introduction to the scientific study of Old Irish. There is need for such a book; for the Manuals of Strachan and Thurneysen, excellent as they are, are not very well suited for beginners. Though the Old Irish literary remains that have been preserved in contemporary MSS. consist almost exclusively of Glosses and Scholia, a great number of fine stories and poems, going back to Old Irish times, have been preserved in later MSS., often corrupt and modernised by the mediæval scribes, but not so much changed that it would not be possible to restore the original text with some certainty.

In the Reader I have endeavoured to give representative examples of the chief literary subjects: saga, religion, law—both in prose and poetry—and some also of the more interesting glosses. The critical Old Irish texts are accompanied by full notes with constant references to the respective paragraphs of the grammar. For the use of beginners who have not the assistance of a teacher, a short text with a copious and elaborate commentary has been included.

The grammar is built up in accordance with the strictest scientific principles, though with regard to the arrangement of the paragraphs the practical point of view has been considered in the first instance. It is quite evident that this part especially of the

book must be deeply indebted to the grammars of Thurneysen and Pedersen. Strachan's publications also have been of great value to me, and some rules have been literally taken over from his *Selections from the Old Irish Glosses.* But that my grammar is no mere extract from the works of my predecessors and that I have made my own way, where necessary, will become apparent in considering *e.g.* the chapter on the difficult problems of palatalisation.

I wish to state here my deep indebtedness to the kindness of Professor Kuno Meyer, who kindly read the proofs and assisted me in the most liberal way by frequent gifts of books and pamphlets.

But my chief thanks are due to the 'Gesellschaft für Förderung deutscher Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Böhmen,' whose most generous financial assistance enabled me to revisit Ireland and Wales in order to complete my dialectal studies and to collect new material for further publications.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc. = accusative.
act. = active.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
arch. = archaic.
art. = article.
cf. = compare.
compar. = comparative.
conj. = conjunction.
cpd. = compound.
dat. = dative.
dep. = deponent.
du. = dual.
e.g. = for instance.
encl. = enclitic.
f. = feminine.
Fél. = Félire Oéngusso (early 9th century).
fr. = from.
fut. = future.
gen. = genitive.
gl. = gloss or glosses.
Got. = Gothic.
i.e. = that is.
I.E. = Indo-European.
impf. = imperfect.
ind. = indicative.
inf. = infinitive.
infix. = infixed.
ipv. = imperative.
Lat. = Latin.
leg. = read.
lit. = literally.
Lith- = Lithuanian.
m. = masculine.
Mid. I. = Middle Irish.
Ml. = Milan Glosses (early 9th cent.).
Mod. I. = Modern Irish.
n. = neuter.
neg. = negative.
nom. – nominative.
O. Ir. = Old Irish.
p. = page.
part. = participle.
part. nec. = participle of necessity.
pass. = passive.
perf. = perfect.
pl. = plural.
poss. = possessive.
prep. = preposition.
pres. = present.
procl. = proclitic.
pron. = pronoun.
rel. = relative.
s. = see.
sec. = secondary.
Sg. = St. Gall Glosses (middle of 9th century; partly copied from other sources).
sg. = singular.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
st. = stem.
subj. = subjunctive.
suff. = suffixed.
Tur. = Turin glosses (early 9th cent.).
verb. = verbal.

voc. = vocative.
Wb. = Würzburg glosses (middle of 8th century).
ˊ *e.g. bó* is used as mark of length in Old Irish words.
ˋ *e.g. dobèir* denotes the accented syllable.
ⁿ *e.g. arⁿ* indicates that the word eclipses a following consonant which is capable of eclipse.
\- *e.g. -tabair* signifies that a proclitic preverb has been left out before the respective verbal form.
* *e.g. *viros* denotes reconstructed or postulated forms.

[Only the chief rules and exceptions are given in the following grammar less important matter will be discussed in the notes.]

A.—ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 1. As the orthography varies at different periods, most of the orthographical peculiarities will be explained in the notes to the respective texts.

Here I shall only remark that

1. In the interior of a word, or in final position, the voiced stops *b, d, g* are represented by *p, t, c* (or *bb, dd, gg*) regularly after vowels and occasionally after consonants:

e.g. *epir* 'say,' *art* (also *ardd, ard*) 'high,' *écen* 'necessity.'

2. The voiced stop *g*, if preceded by *r* or *l*, appears sometimes as *cc*:

e.g. *moircc* (Wb) 'alas!'

3. The voiced stop *g* (sporadically also *b, d*) resulting from the assimilation of a consonant group may be written *cc* (resp. *pp, tt*) after a vowel, but mostly only in intervocalic position.

e.g. *conàc(c)ab* (= *con-ad-gab*) 'he kept,' *appriscc*(**ad-brisc*) 'brittle.'

4. The voiceless stop *c* is often represented by *cc*, mostly after vowels, but occasionally also after consonants.

Also the voiceless stop *t* in analogous positions may be represented by *tt*, but this doubling is much less common. The doubling of *p* occurs only sporadically.

e.g. *-àicci* (**ad-kᵛis-et*) 'he sees,' *airdircc* (**pare*[1]*-derki-*) 'conspicuous,' *attach* (**ad-teko-m*) 'praying,' *corpp* (fr. Lat.) 'body.'

Note.—For the explanation of these orthographical peculiarities, see § 90. It cannot be doubted, however, that double consonants are often written only in order to show that the respective consonant was not aspirated (§ 5).

5. Words beginning with a vowel take often a (merely graphic) *h* before them.

e.g. *(h)umae* (fr. **omijo-*) 'brass.'

It is doubtful, whether such an *h* can have represented in some instances an actual pronunciation.

e.g. in *(h)uisse* (fr. **justijo-*) 'fitting,' or *(h)il* (fr. **pelu*) 'much.'

[1] Fr. older *pr(r)e* (§ 105).

B.—PHONOLOGY

§ 2 Phonetic Table of Irish Consonants

Name	Stops		Spirants		Liquids		
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Nasal		
Dentals, .	*t*	*d*	*th*, *s*	aspirated *d*	*n*	*l*	*r*
Gutturals,	*c*	*g*	*ch*	aspirated *g*	*n* before *g*		
Labials, .	*p*	*b*	*f* (*ph*)	aspirated *m*			
				aspirated *b*	*m*		
Breathing,			*h*				

For the different qualities of the consonants, and the difference between aspirated and unaspirated *n*, *l*, *r*, see §§ 7, 35.

§ 3. As already in the O. Ir. period the orthography is to some extent historical, the spoken sounds, as given in the preceding phonetic table, are not always identical with their orthographical representatives.

e.g. the voiced spirant *d* in *peccad* 'sin' may be represented also by *th* (*peccath*), though final unaccented *th* had become voiced throughout.

§ 4. **Table of Irish Vowels.** (For the glide-vowels s. §§ 36-41.)
There are 5 short vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.
„ 5 long vowels, *á*, *é*, *í*, *ó*, *ú*.
and 8 diphthongs, *aí* (*aé*), *oí* (*oé*), *uí*, *áu*, *éu* (*éo*), *íu*, *ía*, *úa*.[1]

Following Thurneysen, I write *aí*, *oí*, *uí*, in order to distinguish these diphthongs from long *á*, *ó*, *ú*, followed by a palatal glide.

Aspiration

§ 5. Every consonant can be aspirated (or lenited).
Aspiration (lenition) takes place between vowels and in some other postvocalic positions in the interior of a word.
e.g. *cath* 'battle' fr. **katus*, *arathar* 'plough' fr. **aratron*.

[1] On the diphthongs *ia*, *ua* with short *i* and *u*, which occur only in proclitic words, see § 126 and § 81, exception 1.

§ 6. Forms ending formerly in a vowel aspirate the initial consonant of a closely connected following word.

§ 7. The stops *b, d, g, p, t, c,* when aspirated, are converted into the corresponding spirants; *m* becomes a voiced nasal spirant; *s* is converted into a voiceless breathing, *h* (if *s* goes back to an old *sv* or *sp*, its aspirated form is *f*, e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svesōr*, but *mo fiur* 'my sister.'); aspirated *f* is silent, and consequently sometimes omitted in writing; aspirated *l, n, r* have a much less intensive articulation than the corresponding unaspirated sounds.

§ 8. Only in the case of *c, p, t* aspiration is regularly expressed in writing (*ch, ph, th*); in later O. Ir. the aspiration of *f* and *s* is marked by putting a dot over them (*ṡ, ḟ*); *b, d, g, m, l, n, r* may represent the aspirated or the unaspirated sounds. But while the aspirated sounds cannot be doubled in writing, this is done frequently with the unaspirated sounds; mostly after vowels, but sometimes also after consonants. See § 90, § 34 and § 1 note.

On the doubling of initial unaspirated consonants, see § 34.

Principal Rules for Syntactical Aspiration. (Cf. § 6.)

§ 9. The article, and the pronouns *cach, nach, alaile, indala, uile, cétnae, inonn* aspirate a noun in the nom. sg. f. and nom. pl. m., in the dat. sg. of all genders, and in the gen. sg. m. and n.

e.g. *do-n chorp* 'to the body.'

§ 10. An adjective or a dependent genitive, when closely connected with the foregoing word, is very often aspirated, if the preceding noun is

(*a*) a dat. sg. (of all genders.)

(*b*) a nom. sg. f., or voc. sg. of all genders.

(*c*) a gen. sg. of a masc. or n. *o* or *jo* stem, or a nom. pl. of a masc. *o* or *jo* stem.

(*d*) nom. or voc. pl. n.

e.g. *hó thoil cholno* 'as to the desire of the flesh' (*a*); *tol cholnide* 'carnal desire' (*b*); *ind folaid chétnai* 'of the same substance' (*c*).

§ 11. After the poss. pron. *m(o)*, *do*, *t'*, *a* (m. and n.), the infixed pron. 1 and 2 sg. and 3 sg. n., the neuters *alaill* and *ced*, *cid* (§ 22, Exc. d.) aspiration takes place.

e.g. *a chenél* 'his tribe,' *for-dom-chomaither* 'I am preserved.'

§ 12. The voc. particle *a*, the conj. *ocus* (*acus*), *no* and *fa* (*ba*), and the prepositions *amal*, *ar*, *cen*, *di*, *do*, *fíad*; *fo*, *im(m)*, *ís*, *ó* (*úa*), *ós* (*úas*), *tre* (*tri*) aspirate the initial of immediately following nouns.

e.g. *fo chosmuilius* . . . 'after the fashion of' . . .

§ 13. After the nom. acc. gen. du. m. and f. aspiration takes place.

e.g. *di chétbuid* 'two senses.'

§ 14. The conjunctions *ma*, *cía* (*ce*), *co*, *ó* (*úa*) and the negatives *nicon*, *nacon* aspirate the initials of the following verbs.

e.g. *ó chretsit* 'since they have believed.'

§ 15. Aspiration is found after some forms of the copula,

e.g. always after the imperative and after relative forms:

nech bed chare 'any one that was a friend.'

§ 16. In the interior of nominal compounds aspiration takes place:—

(*a*) after nouns, adjectives, and numerals.

e.g. *dag-theist* 'a good testimony.'

(*b*) after the prefixes *so-* (*su-*), *do-* (*du*)-, *mí-*, *neb-* (*neph-*).

e.g. *mí-thoimtiu* 'a false opinion.'

(*c*) after prepositions ending originally in a vowel; later also after other prepositions.

e.g. *airchenn* (fr. **(p)are-k*^{v}*ennom*) 'head, end.'

§ 17. In compound verbs all preverbal prepositions, the nega-

tive *nad* and the particles *no-*, *ro-* (if no infixed pronoun follows) aspirate the initial of the following syllable, *if the verb is used relatively.*

e.g. *intí for-chain* 'he that teaches. *is hed inso no-chairigur* 'it is this which I reprimand.'

Exception a. When the relative form expresses an accusative relation, either eclipsis or aspiration may take place.

e.g. *is ed ad-chobrai siu* 'that is what thou desirest,' or *is ed ad-cobrai siu* (with eclipsed *c*, i.e. *g*).

Exception b. The copula is not aspirated after *na* and *ro-*.

Exception c. After *nad* eclipsis takes place in the cases mentioned in § 28.

§ 18. In compound verbs aspiration takes place after *ro-* and the other preverbal prepositions originally ending in a vowel, when they are stressed (later also after other prepositions, e.g. *com-*, *etar-*, *for-*, etc.)

e.g. *ni ṡm-thesid* (fr. **ṃbhi-(s)teighsete*) 'ye should not walk.

Syntactical Aspiration does not take place

§ 19. (*a*) in a word beginning with *d*, *t* if the preceding word ends in *l*, *n*, or *s*.

e.g. *cen tossach* 'without beginning.'

(*b*) In a word beginning with a stop or spirant, if the preceding word ends in a homorganic consonant.

e.g. *cach cloíne* 'every iniquity' (cf. § 9.)

bad tréuin 'be ye strenuous' (cf. § 15.)

(*c*) Initial *p* is sometimes aspirated and sometimes not.

(*d*) The initials of the adjective *cach* (*cech*), the emphasising pronouns *-sa*, *-se*, *-su*, etc., and the affixed demonstrative particles *so*, *siu* (except after prepositions, e.g. *de-ṡiu* 'hence') and the possessive pronoun *mo* are never aspirated.

e.g. *tíagussa* (=*tíagu-sa*) 'I go' (cf. § 8), *ind libuir-se* 'of this book.'

Eclipsis

§ 20. Words ending originally in *-n* may eclipse the initial consonant of a closely connected following word. (Cf. § 22, note 2.)

§ 21. When eclipsed the voiceless stops *c, t, p* become voiced, *b, d, g* are changed into *mb, nd, ng* (pronounced *m, n, ŋ*); *f* becomes a voiced spirant *v* (written *b*); *s, r, l, n, m* seem to remain unchanged (cf. § 34 note), while vowels take an *n-* before them.

It is only in the case of *b, d, g* and of initial vowels that eclipsis is regularly expressed in writing.

Rules for Eclipsis

§ 22. Eclipsis takes place after the gen. pl. and acc. sg. of all genders and the nom. and acc. sg. neuter of all declinable words.

e.g. *nert n-írisse* 'strength of faith,' *co cenn m-blíadnae* 'till the end of the year.'

Exception a. If the word following the eclipsing form is a dependent genitive or a preposition with suffixed personal pronoun, eclipsis may take place or not.

e.g. *láa m-brátha* or *láa brátha* 'day of doom.'

Exception b. Unstressed words (§ 51) or syllables (§ 53, 3) cannot be eclipsed as a rule, though in later O. I. proclitic words are occasionally eclipsed.

e.g. *torbae do neuch* (not: *torbae n-do*) 'a profit for any one.'

Exception c. As *n* may be thrown out between certain consonants[1] eclipsis is often given up when the eclipsing *n* (*m*) would stand between two consonants.

e.g. *nach díchlith* (or *nach n-díchlith*) 'any concealment.

Exception d. The neuters *alaill* 'another' (probably also *aill*), *na* 'any' (probably also *ní* 'anything') *ced, cid* 'what?'

[1] e.g. *tair(n)gire* 'promise,' *scríb(n)did* 'scribe'; also other consonants may be thrown out e.g. *forgaire* or *forngaire* instead of **forcngaire* (=*for-con-gaire*) 'command.'

(probably also *ed* 'it'), and the infixed neuter personal pronoun of the 3 sg. do not cause eclipsis (cf. § 11).

e.g. *na galar* 'any sickness.'

Note 1.—The nominal prepositions *dò-chum* 'to,' *i n-degaid*, 'after' and *tar-ési* 'in place of,' which cause eclipsis are likewise subject to the exceptions a, b and c.

Note 2. Eclipsis takes place after the nominative and accusative singular neuter, even if the form did not originally end in *-n*.

e.g. *bir n-iairn* (fr. **beru isarnī*) 'a spit of iron.'

§ 23. The numeral adjectives *secht, ocht, noí, deich* (also *coíc* and *sé* in the genitive case), the possessive pronouns *ar, far, a* ('their') and the interrogative particle *in* cause eclipsis.

§ 24. Eclipsis takes place after the neuter dual forms and the dative dual of all genders of the numeral 2.

e.g. *i n-dib n-úarib déac* 'in twelve hours.'

§ 25. Eclipsis takes place after the conjunctions *a* 'when,' *ara* 'in order that,' *dia* 'if,' and the prepositions *co, i, íar, re* (*ría*). On *dochum, i n-degaid, tarési*, see § 22, note 1.

§ 26. The relative particle (*s*)*a* causes eclipsis.

e.g. *tressa m-bí bethu* 'through which is life.'

§ 27. Eclipsis takes place regularly after the infixed personal pronoun of the 3 sg. masc. and often after the infixed personal pronoun *s* of the 3 sg. fem. and 3 plur.

e.g. *cot-n-erba* 'he entrusts himself'; *no-s-m-bered* 'he carried them.'

§ 28. In compound relative[1] verbs the negative *na, nad*, the preverbal prepositions and the particles *ro-, no-* (if no infixed pronoun follows) eclipse the initial of the following syllable under the following conditions:

a. If the relative form expresses an accusative relation.

e.g. *in núall do-n-gní* 'the shout which he makes.'

See also § 17, exception a.

[1] In the cases mentioned below under b, c, e, f, g, the verb is not necessarily relative, and hence eclipsis is not obligatory.

b. After adjectives of manner.

e.g. *is maith do-m-beir* 'it is well that he gives.'

c. After substantives with the force of an oblique case of the relative.

e.g. *laithe ro-n-génair* 'the day on which he was born.'

d. In the so-called etymological figure.

e.g. *légend rollégusa* (fr. **ro-n-légus-sa*) 'the reading which I have read.'

e. After certain nominal and pronominal conjunctions: *ama(i)l, céin, céne, inta(i)n, lasse, a* ('when') *óre* (*úare*), *fobíth, dég.*

f. In reported speech,

e.g. *asbeir as n-duine* 'he says that he is a man.'

g. With a dependent subjunctive.

e.g. *amaires na-n-da-tiberad día* 'unfaith, that God would not give it.'

h. After *ol* 'than' and 'because.'

e.g. *ol-m-boí* 'than he was.'

§ 29. In relative verbs which contain an infixed pronoun the eclipsing *n* is inserted immediately before the *d* of the pronoun.

e.g. *amal as-i-n-d-biur sa* (not **as-n-id-*) 'as I say it.'

§ 30. In simple relative verbs eclipsis takes place under the same conditions as in compound relative verbs (§ 28) though not regularly. Only after *a* 'what' eclipsis is regular.

e.g. *amal n-guidess* 'as he prays,' *is maith n-ásas* 'it is well that it grows,' i.e. 'it grows well.'

Note.—Absolute copula forms are not eclipsed but cause eclipsis of a following stressed word.

e.g. *céin bas m-béo* 'as long as he is alive.'

§ 31. In interrogative sentences absolute copula forms sometimes cause eclipsis.

e.g. *cit n-é* 'who are they?'

§ 32. A petrified *n* is found in *nechtar n-aí* 'either of them,' *cechtar n-aí* 'every one of them,' *indala n-aí* 'one of them,' and *cechtar n-athar* 'both of us.'

§ 33. **The eclipsing *n* may be omitted in writing** if the next word begins with a (merely graphic) *h* (cf. § 1, 5.)

e.g. *dochum hirisse* (or *dochum n-irisse*) 'unto faith.'

Doubling of Initial Consonants

§ 34. As proclitic words are often written together with the following stressed word, the initial consonant of this word may be treated orthographically like a consonant in the interior of a word. Thus if the preceding proclitic word (ending in a vowel) does not cause aspiration (e.g. the prepositions *a, co, fri, la,* the neuter *na* 'any' etc.) the initial consonant may be doubled (§ 8), and the voiced stops *b, d, g* may be written *p, t, c,* etc. (§ 1).

e.g. *tíagussa* (=*tíagu-sa*) 'I go,' *bacalar* (=*ba galar*) 'it was sickness,' *colláa* 'to the day' (=*co láa*; both forms in Wb. 5b 4).

The same explanation holds good in the case of verbal compounds, where such doubling is found after the pretonic preverbal prepositions, after *ro-, no-* and the negative particles *ni, na, coni, cona,* etc., provided the verb is not relative.

e.g. *niténat* (=*ni dénat*) 'they do not do,' *dommuinetar* (=*do-muinetar*) 'they believe.'

Perhaps this doubling is not in every case merely orthographical. Spontaneous doubling of initial consonants occurs also in Italian.

In the genitive of the article, the fem. possessive pronoun *a* and other words ending originally in *-s*, the aspirated final *s* (=*h*) may have been assimilated to the following consonant.

Note.—The doubling of *s, l, r, n, m* after eclipsing pretonic words could be also explained by assuming assimilation to the eclipsing *n*.

On the Quality of Consonants

§ 35. Every consonant may be pronounced in three different ways. It may possess a palatal (*i*) quality, a broad or neutral (*a*) quality, or a rounded (*o* and *u*) quality according to the point of contact of the tongue with the palate and the position

of the lips. A palatal consonant is followed by *e* or *i*, a broad consonant by *a*, and a rounded one by *o* or *u*.

Glide-Vowels

§ 36. Before a palatal consonant at the end of a word or of a syllable (except after *i*, *í*, and the diphthongs *áe aí*, *óe oí*, *uí*) a glide-vowel *i* is regularly inserted.

e.g. *muir* 'sea' (fr. **mori*), *toim-tiu* 'opinion' (fr. *to-mentjō*).

§ 37. Before a vowel-flanked palatal consonant, which begins a new syllable, an *i* glide is likewise often inserted, though not regularly.

e.g. *fla-thi* or *flai-thi* 'princes' (fr. **vlatejes*).

§ 38. Before an *u* coloured consonant at the end of a word or of a syllable after short *a*, *e*, *i*, an *u* glide is regularly inserted; only here and there an *u* glide appears also before a vowel-flanked *u* coloured consonant.

e.g. *fiuss* 'knowledge (fr. **vid-tus*), *firu* 'men' (acc. pl.).

Note.—There is a strong tendency in final consonants to give up their *u* quality in change for the more neutral *a* colour (cf. § 49.)

§ 39. No glide-vowel is inserted before (originally) *a* or *o* coloured consonants.

e.g. *fer* 'man' (fr. **viros*).

§ 40. Final *a*, *o*, *u* preceded by palatal consonants are regularly written *-ea*, *-eo*, *-iu*, sometimes only *-a*, *-o*, *-u*, if the palatal quality of the preceding consonant is already indicated by the insertion of an *i* glide (§§ 36, 37).

e.g. *didiu* or *didu* 'hence,' fr. **di-śuidiu* (fr. **-sodjōi*).
aithrea 'fathers' (acc. pl.) fr. **(p)aterās*, **pəterṇs*.

§ 41. Final *e*, *i* preceded by non-palatal consonants or vowels are from the ninth century onwards regularly written *-ae*, *-ai*, later they become *-a*.

e.g. *núë*, *núae*, *núa* 'new' fr. **novijo-*; *lobre*, *lobrae*, *lobra* 'weakness.'

Old Final Syllables

§ **42.** In words of more than one syllable all final vowels and diphthongs have been dropped, except when preceded by *j*. (Cf. § 46.)

e.g. *túath* 'people' fr. **teutā, -biur* I carry fr. **bherō*.

§ **43.** Final *d, t, k, n, m, s* and all consonant groups containing *s* (except *rs, rks, rts, rps,* and *ls, lks, lts, lps*) have been dropped.

e.g. *mí,* 'month' fr. **mēns*; *rí* 'king' fr. **rēgs*.

§ **44.** In words of more than one syllable ending in any of the consonants mentioned in § 43 (except *rs, ls,* etc.) a preceding short vowel is dropped together with the final consonants.

e.g. *traig* 'foot' fr. **traghets, sail* 'willow' fr. **saliks*.

Exception. Short vowels are kept[1] before final *ns, nts.*

e.g. *fíado* 'lord' fr. **veidonts*.

§ **45.** In words of more than one syllable long vowels and diphthongs in final syllables have been preserved[1] as short vowels, if followed (originally) by a consonant.

e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svesōr, túatha* 'peoples' fr. **teutās*.

Exception.—Before final *-n, -m* long vowels have been shortened very early and are treated like short vowels (§ 44).

e.g. *fer* (gen. plur. of *fer* 'man') fr. **viron*, older **virōm*.

§ **46.** Final syllables preceded by a consonant (or *u, v*) + *j*(*ij*) are never dropped. *jĭ* and *jĕ* give *i, jŭ* (final *-jū* may come from older *jō*-) remains, *jo* and *jă* (also *jā, jē,* when followed originally by a consonant) give *e*.

e.g. *aile* m. f. 'other' fr. **aljos, *aljā*.
coimdiu 'lord' fr. **com-medjōts*.

Influence of Lost Vowels in Final Syllables on the Preceding Consonants

§ **47.** If the lost vowel was *ĕ* or *ĭ* or an *i* diphthong, the preceding consonants become palatal e.g. *muir* 'sea' fr. **mori*,

[1] Preserved final unstressed *o* has become *a* towards the end of the eighth century.

e.g. *fessa*, older *fesso* fr. **vidtous*, gen. sg. of *fi(u)ss*, 'knowledge.'

a and *u* in similar position remain unchanged.

On *e* and *i* see § 41.

The *proclitic words* a final rounded vowel appears as *o* or *u* (cf. § 81, exception 1-3).

neirt (gen. sg. of *nert* 'strength') fr. **nertī*; *fir* 'men' fr. **virī*, older **viroi*. But final *-ōi* acts like *ō* e.g. *fiur* (dat. sg.) fr. **virōi*.

§ 48. If the lost vowel was *ă* or *o* (*ō* in final syllables had become *ū*, except before *-m*, *-n*, cf. § 45 exception), the preceding consonants become broad.

e.g. *sciath* 'shield' fr. **skeitos*.

§ 49. If the lost vowel was *u*, an *u* diphthong or *ū*, the rules are more complicated.

1. Consonants preceded by long vowels or diphthongs are regularly broad.

e.g. *dán* 'gift' fr. **dōnus*.

Exception.—After *ē* resulting from compensatory lengthening (§§ 107-108) final *l*, *n*, *r* keep their *u* quality.

e.g. *éun* dat. sg. of *én* 'bird' fr. **(p)etnō(i)* (cf. § 48).

2. *ch*, *cc*, *th*, *d* (if from *th*, § 72) and *ss* preceded by *a* are likewise broad.

e.g. *cath* 'battle' fr. **katus*, *glanad*, 'cleansing' fr. **glanātus*.

3. In other cases we have to distinguish between stressed and unstressed syllables:

(*a*) in unstressed final syllables, except in the cases mentioned above the *u* quality regularly prevails (but cf. § 144, note on *brithem*).

e.g. *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.

(*b*) in stressed syllables final consonant groups and *ss* often —though not regularly—give up their *u* quality in order to become broad.

e.g. *mess* 'judgment' fr. **med-tus*; *fiss* or *fiuss* 'knowledge' fr. **vid-tus*.

Note.—All these rules are very often crossed by analogical influences. In datives like *galar* 'sickness,' *sacardd* 'priest,' the preservation of the second *a* may be due to the influence of the first *a*.

Development of Secondary Vowels after the Loss of Final Syllables

§ 50. If after the loss of final syllables a final consonant group

ended in *l*, *r*, *n*, *m*, preceded by a stop, a spirant or *m*, a secondary vowel is developed between them. (But not between *m* and *m*.)

e.g. *arathar* 'plough' fr. **ṛətrom*, *immon* 'hymn' fr. Latin *hymnus*.

(On the quality of these vowels, see § 60.)

(On secondary vowels developed in syncopated syllables, see § 59.)

No secondary vowel is developed

(*a*) If the preceding consonant has been lost (§§ 107, 109.

(*b*) If *m*, *n*, are preceded by postvocalic *r*, *l* or aspirated *d*.

e.g. *úar* 'cold' fr. **ogro-*, *salm* 'psalm' fr. Latin *psalmus*.

Stress

§ **51**. The article, pronouns, and prepositions before their relation, infixed personal pronouns and the copula as well as emphasising pronoums, affixed demonstrative pronouns, and some conjunctions (but cf. p. 29, note.), never bear any stress.

§ **52**. All other words with exception of the verbs are stressed on the first syllable.

Note.—In compounds as *ro-mór* 'very great,' *com-lán* 'complete' the stem syllable may bear a secondary stress. This is of course a later development.

§ **53**. With regard to verbs we have to distinguish:

1. Simple and denominative verbs (*i.e.* verbs formed from a noun) are always stressed on the first syllable.

e.g. *còmalnaithir* 'fulfils' (fr. *comlán*).

2. Compound verbs (including verbs which have the verbal particle *ro-* before them) are stressed on the first syllable only in the following cases:

(*a*) In the imperative, except when there is an infixed pronoun.

e.g. *èpir* 'say' fr. **eks-bhere*, but *du-m-èm se* 'protect me.'

(*b*) After the relative preceded by a preposition.

e.g. *frissa n-epur* 'to whom I say.'

(*c*) After the negative particles *ni, na, nad, nach* and their compounds (*nicon, mani, ceni*, etc.).

e.g. *arna-còscram* (fr. *con-scaram*) 'in order that we may not destroy.'

(*d*) After the interrogative particle *in*

e.g. *in fòdmat?* 'Do they suffer?' (fr. *fo-daimet*).

(*e*) After the conjunctions *ara*ⁿ 'in order that,' *co*ⁿ, ⁿ*con* 'so that,' *dia*ⁿ 'if, when,' *ó*ⁿ (*úa*ⁿ) 'since.'

e.g. *con rò-chra* (fr. *ro-chara*) 'that he might love.'

Exception.—If the verbal particle *ro-* comes immediately (without an intervening infixed personal pronoun) after the aforementioned particles (with the exception of *nad*) the stress is sometimes shifted to the following syllable.

e.g. *con-ru-fàilnither* 'that it may be supplied,' but *con rò-chra.*

3. Otherwise in compound verbs (including verbs which have the verbal particles *no-* or *ro-* before them) the second element bears the stress.

e.g. *do-beìr* 'he gives,' *ro-gàb* 'he has taken.'

Note.—If there is an infixed pronoun, the syllable following the pronoun is stressed.

e.g. *imm-um-rùi-d-bed* 'I have been circumcised.'

Working of the Accent in Stressed Syllables

§ **54.** Stressed syllables ending in a vowel (after the loss of final consonants) are lengthened. (Cf. p. 29, note 1.)

e.g. *trú* 'a doomed person' fr. **truk-s*, but gen. *troch* fr. **truk-os.*

Working of the Accent in Enclitic Syllables

§ **55. Syncope.**

I. In words of more than two syllables (after the loss of final syllables) the vowel of the second and fourth syllable is thrown out.

e.g. *toimtiu* 'opinion' fr. **to-métiu* **to-mentiō*; *apstal* fr. Latin *apostolus*; *-accat* 'they see' fr. *ad-cïat*, **ad-kʷisont.*

Note a. Dissyllabic *ïa* when stressed becomes *e* by syncope.
e.g. *ern-bas* 'death by the sword' fr. *ïarn* 'iron' and *bás* 'death.

Note b.—Many exceptions are caused by analogical influences; the syncopated vowel may be restored, or a wrong syllable may be syncopated.
e.g. *foéssama* (gen. sg. of *foéssam* 'protection'), besides the regular syncopated *foésma*; *filetae* 'poetical' (fr. **velēt-adjo-* we expect **filtide*; the preservation of the second syllable is due to the influence of the root-word *fili*, gen. *filed*).

Note c. The development of secondary vowels (§ 50) is younger than the syncope; hence the preservation of the second syllable.
e.g. *arathar* 'plough' fr. **arathr*, older **aratron.*

II. When consonants of different quality come together by syncope, the quality of the first consonant prevails. But when consonants of *u* and *i* quality come together, the whole group becomes palatal.
e.g. *aimseo* (fr. **ad-messō*, **ad-med-tous*) gen. of *ammus* 'attempt'; *rígnai* (fr. **rīgani*, **rēgn̥jāi*) dat. sg. of *rígain* 'queen'; but *Luigdech* (Ogam: *Lugudeccas*) gen. of *Luguid.*

Exception.—In compound words the assimilation of different-coloured consonants does not always take place. Sometimes even the first consonant is assimilated to the second one.
e.g. *dagtheist* (fr. **dago-testis* we expect **dagthaist*) 'good testimony,' or *ath-chor* 'restoring.'
(We should have expected **aithcher* fr. **ate-koro-s.*)

Note.—Syncopated *ō* acts like *u* upon the preceding consonant.
e.g. *éitset* 'they shall hear' fr. **é-tóisset*; *dúilgine* 'remuneration' fr. **de-fo-lōg-ine.*

§ 56. Shortening of Long Vowels.

All unstressed long vowels that have not been thrown out by syncope have been shortened.
e.g. *teglach* 'household' fr. **tego-slōgon*, **tego-slougom.*

Note 1. In compounds the length of vowels has often been analogically restored.

e.g. *ir-bág* 'boasting'; the *á* has been restored from the simplex *bág*. Cf. § 52 note.

Note 2. The compensatory lengthening before *l, n, r* is later than the shortening of long vowels, hence *andl* 'breath' fr. **anətlā*.

§ 57. **The quality of unstressed non-final vowels** depends very much on the quality of the surrounding consonants.[1]

a. Enclitic vowels in closed syllables appear

1. between palatal consonants as *i*, very seldom as *e*.
   e.g. *berid* 'he carries' fr. **bhereti*.
2. between neutral consonants (cf. § 64) as *a*.
   e.g. *carat*, fr. **karantos*, gen. sg. of *carae* 'friend.'
3. between a palatal and a neutral consonant as *e*.
   e.g. *muilenn* 'mill' fr. Latin *molīnā*.
4. between a neutral and palatal consonant as *i* or *ai*, later regularly as *ai*.
   e.g. *benid, benaid* 'he strikes' fr. **bhi-na-ti*.
5. between an *u* coloured and a palatal consonant as *i* or *ui*
   e.g. *cétbuith* 'sense' fr. **-bhutis*.
6. between a palatal and an *u* coloured consonant as *iu*.
   e.g. *claidiub*, dat. of *claideb* 'sword.'

b. Enclitic vowels in open syllables appear

1. between palatal consonants as *i*, seldom as *e*.
   e.g. *airmitiu* 'honour' fr. **are-mentiō*.
2. between neutral consonants as *a*.
   e.g. *arada* acc. pl. of *arae* 'charioteer.'
3. between a palatal and a neutral consonant as *e*, sometimes as *i*.
   e.g. *forcetal* or *forcital* 'teaching' fr. *for*+*cétal*.
4. between a neutral and a palatal consonant as *i*, later as *a(i)*.
   e.g. *scélige, scéla(i)ge* 'storyteller.'

[1] On the quality of preserved final vowels, see § 41 and p. 15 note.

5. between an *u* coloured and a palatal consonant as *u(i)*, seldom as *i*.

e.g. *sochuide, sochude, sochide* 'multitude.'

6. between a palatal and an *u* coloured consonant as *i*, seldom as *iu*.

e.g. *airigud* 'perceiving.'

c. Enclitic vowels in open or closed syllables appear

1. between rounded consonants as *u* or *o*, though *u* is much more common.

e.g. *-águr* or *-ágor* 'I fear' (§§ 62; 49, 3 *a*).

2. between *o* coloured and neutral consonants or vice versa regularly as *o*, but sometimes as *a*.

e.g. *feronn* or *ferann* 'land' (fr. **ver-ono-*), *anacol* 'protection.'

3. between an *u* coloured and a neutral consonant (cf. § 64, note 2), as *u* or *o*.

e.g. Mid. I. *irussa*, O. Ir. **iruss(a)e* fr. **iru-ad-sthajo-* 'very easy'; *iru* fr. **(p)erō*.

Mid. I. *irud, irod* fr. **iru-ōto-* 'great dread.' Cf. *úath* 'dread.'

Cf. further §§ 63, 64.

Note.—The rules given in this paragraph are sometimes crossed by analogy, e.g. *bindiusa*, gen. sg. of *bindius* 'melody,' owes its *u* to the influence of the nominative. The regular form would be **bindsea*, older **bindseo* (fr. **bindesso, *bhndistous*), or with the second vowel analogically kept **bindessa*.

§ 58. Unstressed non-final vowels preceded by another vowel take the quality of the following consonant. Only *ïa* before a palatal consonant is changed to *ïe*.

e.g. *druäd* fr. **dru-vid-os*, gen. sg. of *druí* 'druid'; *bïeid* 'he will be' fr. **bhvijāti*.

Development of Secondary Vowels in Syncopated Syllables

§ 59. When the loss of a syncopated vowel leaves a liquid or

nasal between consonants, a secondary vowel is developed, except when a nasal is followed by a homorganic media.

e.g. *comalnad* 'fulfilment' fr. **comḷnad*, fr. **com-lánath*; *ingantach* 'wonderful' fr. **ingṇtach* fr. **ingnāthach*; but *écndairce* 'absent' fr. **ṇ-kom-derkis*.

On the quality of these vowels, see §§ 66-71.

Quality of Final Consonants preceded by an Epenthetic Vowel

§ 60. Final *l, r, n, m*, which have developed an epenthetic vowel before them (§ 50) keep the quality of the lost final vowel (§§ 47, 48, 49). Only labials are always rounded before such an epenthetic vowel.

e.g. *omun, omon* 'fear' fr. **obnos*; *immun, immon* fr. Latin *hymnus*; *arathar* 'plough' fr. **ṛətrom*.

Forms like *arathair*, gen. sg. of *arathar* owe their non-palatal consonant to the influence of the nominative, as the *th* in **aratri* does not resist palatalisation.

(To be continued.)

NOTE

breisleach

G. *breisleach*, confusion, delirium; E. Ir. *breslech*, rout; cf. Br. *brézel*, war; Ir. *Bresal* (proper n.); Welsh *Con-bresel*, *Cil-bresel*; Br. *Bresel-marchoc*, *Bresel-conan* (J. Loth). The root is ultimately that of G. *bris*, break; Eng. *burst*. *Làirig Bhreislich*, Pass of the Rout, is a pass in Perthshire leading from Glen Lochay (*Gleann Lòcha*) to Glen Lyon. At the Glen Lyon end there are the remains of a round tower, *Caisteal nam Fiann*, from which, according to Glen Lyon tradition, as given me by Mr. J. MacDiarmid, an arrow was shot which killed a Menteith raider. The spot where he fell is called *Dail an Tèadhaich*, the Menteith man's dale. W. J. W.

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THE HOUSE OF THE DWARFS

By David MacRitchie

The tragic story of Darthula, otherwise Dearduil or Deirdire, and the Three Sons of Uisneach has been told many times since James Macpherson made the name of Ossian famous throughout the civilised world. The memory of Darthula—'Darthula of the fair skin, whose locks were more yellow than the western gold of the summer sun'—lingered long around the shores and among the glens of Loch Etive, and only vanished with the vanishing people. It is to the late Dr. Alexander Carmichael that we owe one of the versions of this story, obtained by him as far back as 1867 from an old man in the island of Barra. Interesting although this version is in many ways, it is notable for containing one episode, peculiar, grotesque, and savage in character, which is found in other stories where Darthula does not appear. And it is to this effect. We are told how Nathos and his brothers, on their arrival in the north of Ireland from their home beside Loch Etive, were sent by Conachar, King of Ulster, to 'the house of the mercenaries' (*tigh nan amhusg*) for their night's lodging. They found there no fewer than fifteen score and fifteen mercenaries huddled together. 'There was not a man among them all who did not give the loud laugh on seeing these men coming home among

them.' 'What was the cause that made all of you laugh?' asked Nathos of the commander of the mercenaries (*ceannard nan amhusg*). 'I will tell thee that, hero,' was the reply. 'I have never seen men of your form, and of your colour, coming home to this dwelling, and I have never seen men, a mouthful of whose flesh and a drop of whose blood I would like so well as your own flesh and your own blood.' After this frankly cannibal confession, Nathos was moved to retort: 'I have not seen in the land of the living, nor in the company of the dead, nor among the general people of the world, those whom I would prefer to yourselves here, mercenary, to knock off your heads completely, directly, and together.' Thereupon, 'he arose in his great standing, and he seized the mercenary of biggest head and of slenderest shank, and he beat upon them up and down, on this side and on that, and before long he left not a mercenary alive. Then they cleaned the house for themselves, and raised the bright and blazing fire, and they were comfortable enough till morning.'

Of the further adventures of Nathos and his friends, as told by John MacNeill of the Bodach's Fold in Barra to Alexander Carmichael, it is needless to speak here. The main incident to be kept in view is the astonishing encounter with the 'mercenaries.' Dr. Carmichael gives no information as to his reason for interpreting *amhusg* as 'mercenary.' One thing certain is that his knowledge of his mother-tongue was unsurpassed, and that, consequently, 'mercenary' must be one of the equivalents of *amhusg*. Armstrong's definition of *amhasan* as 'a sentry' seems to follow the same line. But another meaning is given to *amhusg* by John Gregorson Campbell, a former minister of Tiree, who interprets it as 'dwarf.' It gives the title to one of the tales collected by him, *Na h-Amhuisgean*, 'The Dwarfs or Pigmies,' the sub-title being 'The Three Soldiers.' In his English translation he spells the word as 'awisk,' in order that its sound may be expressed as correctly as it may be in accordance with English phonetics. The story tells how three

soldiers were once upon a time travelling together, and how, as they rested beside a knoll, a big red dog came to them. One of the soldiers followed the dog, which led him to a fine castle, in which there was a beautiful woman. Next day, the second soldier followed the dog to the castle, and thereafter the story is silent as to these two warriors, devoting itself to the fortunes of the remaining soldier, who, on the third day, was also conducted by the dog to the castle and the beautiful woman. 'When night came he lay down, but could not get a wink of sleep. Next morning he said to her, "What men are those making music and merriment that did not let me rest or sleep all night?" She said to him, "I am in the same way for a year and a day; those who are at that work are the awisks." "Are you only here a year and a day?" he asked. "I am not more," she said; "I am the daughter of a king in the kingdom of coldness. The awisks stole me away and left me here."' The soldier's sleep was again disturbed in the same way on the following night, which so exasperated him that he made his way to the place where the awisks were engaged in their revelry. Then followed an exchange of laughs, questions, and replies, as in the case of Nathos and the 'mercenaries,' the only difference being that the awisks did not express any cannibalistic longings, but explained that the cause of their laughter was their expectation that the soldier's head would be a football to them for the rest of the night. The soldier accordingly arose in his wrath, seized the most spindle-shanked of the awisks by the legs, and, using him as a war-club, routed the whole of the company. Thereafter, the king's daughter announced that she would go home, to return again with her father and her maidens and marry the soldier. In the interval, the soldier passes through some hard adventures; but at last he reaches 'the kingdom of coldness.' 'The daughter saw him, and she called out to her father, "O father, that is the soldier who took me from among the awisks."' And then the two were married amid great rejoicings.

Here we have essentially the same incident as that which occurs in the story of Darthula. It is found again and again in the Gaelic legendary lore of Scotland and Ireland. The version given by J. F. Campbell of Islay in his *West Highland Tales* (vol. iii.) is the most graphic, and the diction is that of one John MacNair, then (1862) living at Clachaig, near Dunoon. The hero of this story is Conall Gulban, a son of the famous Neil or Nial of the Nine Hostages, ancestor of the O'Neills of Ulster. It happened that on a certain evening young Conall found himself in the realm of Lochlann, *i.e.* Scandinavia, near the palace of the king. In answer to his challenge of combat, he was told that 'he should get no fighting at that time of night, but he should get lodging in the house of the amhusg, where there were eighteen hundred amhusg and eighteen score. He went, and he went in, and there were none of the amhusgs within that did not grin. When he saw that they had made a grin, he himself made two. "What was the meaning of your grinning at us?" said the amhusgs. "What was the meaning of your grinning at me?" said Conall. Said they, "Our grinning at thee meant that thy fresh royal blood will be ours to quench our thirst, and thy fresh royal flesh to polish our teeth." And said Conall, "The meaning of my grinning is that I will look out for the one with the biggest knob and slenderest shanks, and knock out the brains of the rest with that one and his brains with the knobs of the rest." . . . Then he gazed at them, from one to two, and he seized on the one of the slenderest shanks and the fattest head; he drove upon the rest *sliochd! slachd!* till he had killed every one of them; and he had not a jot of the one with whom he was working at them but what was in his hands of the shanks.' The use of an inverted awisk as a war-club, vaguely indicated by the other reciters, is here very forcibly pictured to us.

But this was not Conall's last encounter with awisks; for a later portion of the tale describes a similar adventure, this time in France. Here again we read of the house of the

awisks, 'the best warriors that the King of France had; and the awisks were proud and merciless to any over whom they might gain victory.' In this case, however, they had no opportunity of displaying these qualities, for Conall disposed of them as he had disposed of the 'mercenaries' of the King of Scandinavia. It is stated that just as he was about to deal with them, 'they began gnashing their teeth, making ready to spring upon him,' a peculiarly animal touch not introduced in the other accounts.

It would be tedious to go into all the points of difference and resemblance between these versions and others that have been recorded. In 1889-90 the Rev. James MacDougall, Duror, obtained a variant of the 'Lad of the Skin Coverings' (*Gille nan Cochla-Craicinn*) from a native of Ardnamurchan, Alexander Cameron, who had learned it from a certain Donald M'Phie and other old men whom he had known in his boyhood. In Cameron's story the hero is victorious over 'eighteen score and eight avasks' in the same grotesque way as in the other instances, and the combat is preceded by the same absurd exchange of laughs and questions. An Irish version, preserved in Larminie's *West Irish Folk-Tales* (London, 1893, p. 77), renders the Gaelic word *amhusg* or *amhas* into 'owas,' as the best equivalent according to English phonetics. In this tale, the name of the hero is Ceudach, or otherwise Ceudach mac Righ nan Collach, or son of the King of the Colla men. This title was borne by the 'Lad of the Skin Coverings,' according to Gregorson Campbell, which brings us back again to his tale of the Three Soldiers. Thus, Nathos, son of Uisneach, Conall Gulban, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, Ceudach, son of the King of Coll, and the unnamed soldier of the Tiree version, each figure as the destroyer of many hundred awisks, whose brains were battered in by means of one of their number, swung about by his shanks, gripped by the hands of the hero.

What is to be made of this savage and fantastic story? The Rev. James MacDougall, commenting upon his Ardna-

murchan version, explains it thus:—'This tale is mythological from one end to the other. I believe that the Lad of the Skin Coverings [who is yellow-haired] is the golden dawn with its fleecy clouds. Finn [here associated with him] is the Sun, and as such the King of Light. His journey to the place of the Queen of Roy [Red] is the Sun's daily course from east to west. The latter is accompanied on its way by the Dawn, which remains invisible until it comes forth in the evening as Twilight. Both then enter the golden or silver portals of the west. The struggle between the Dawn as Twilight and the clouds of darkness—represented by the Avasks—now begins, and terminates afterwards in favour of the former—a result supposed to be rendered evident enough by "the heaps" or masses of clouds piled outside the portals of night, or just above the western horizon.' It ought to be explained that in this Ardnamurchan story the hero and Finn 'put the dead bodies out, and made three heaps of them at the door.'

This is one explanation. Campbell of Islay offers another, of a very different kind. 'Perhaps these may have something to do with the Baresarks of the old Norsemen, who were "public pests," great warriors, half crazy, enormously strong, subject to fits of ungovernable fury, occasionally employed by saner men, and put to death when done with. I suspect,' he concludes, 'this guard-house of savage warriors has a foundation in fact.' If an Eastern origin of the story could be admitted, this interpretation would receive support from a reference made by Sir Bertram Windle, especially if it be kept in view that Gregorson Campbell translates 'awisks' as 'dwarfs or pygmies.' In the course of an extensive survey of dwarf races, Sir Bertram Windle quotes the Greek historian, Ctesias, to the effect that 'Middle India has black men, who are called pygmies. Of these pygmies, the king of the Indians has three thousand in his train; for they are very skilful archers.' 'There seem to have been near Lake Zerrah, in Persia,' continues the Irish scholar, 'Negrito [*i.e.* black dwarf] tribes who are probably aboriginal,

and may have formed the historic black guard of the ancient kings of Susiana.' There is thus evidence of dwarf tribes employed by Oriental kings as mercenary troops, to whom the Gaelic name of *amhusg* might be fitly applied, whether we accept the late Dr. Carmichael's interpretation of the word, or that given by Gregorson Campbell. It might be argued, therefore, that this Gaelic tale had its origin in Asia, and was subsequently carried westward and made to fit in with places and people chiefly associated with the west of Scotland and the north-east of Ireland.

CREDE'S LAMENT FOR CAEL

John M. Paterson

A woeful note and, oh! a woeful note
Pours thro' Drumqueen from the sad thrush's throat,
And dismal, dismal is the doleful lay
Wherewith the blackbird saddens Hetherlee.

A doleful sound and, oh! a doleful sound,
Comes from the deer in Drumdaleish and round,
With lifted heads thro' lonely paths they go
For in Drumsheelin lies the stricken doe.

My sorrow's sore and, oh! my sorrow's sore
For Cael the well beloved, my Cael's no more.
As bell the stag in throes of deadly pain
So sorrow I for my beloved slain.

Cold lies the form so late my woman's pride;
No more I'll nestle warmly to his side
For death's dark wave has swept his life away.
I sat in sorrow thro' the livelong day.

A dismal roar, with what a dismal roar
The sullen surf comes surging to the shore,
Beating the polished rock with mournful boom!
So frets my soul at Cael's untimely doom.

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(*Continued from page* 233)

GAELIC TEXT

ET ro fograidsed Gregi bresmaidm n-dermair tres in seiseilbi sir-gloir do rindsead ag comaentaig[1] re Capaneus, amail fogrugud[2] do ni sruth[3] buinni dian dileann an aimsir adfuair earrchaidi dar fegaib acus dar fan-glentaib an talman. Et o tainic an agaid ro scailsead na curaidh sin a comrath.

Acus gid sochaidi do chodail nocha n-i Argia, ingen Adraist, ben Polinices, ro chodail re h-imsnim acus re h-udmailli menman a los a fir. Uair ni fagad si caemthach na comrath in fhir sin, re snim acus re sir-imrad cíndus do denad re brathair[4] im a chuid do'n[4] rigi acus do'n fhlaithus. Et tainig derid aidchi roimpi co teach rigda ro ard a h-athar, acus a mac[5] bec fein in a laim .*i.* Tesanndrus mac Polinicseis, acus adubairt si re h-athair: 'Ra fidir tusa, a athair ínmain, a Adraist,' ar si, 'an toisc ma tanag-sa an[6] tech-sa, (a) Adraist, cen co h-innusar[7] dit.[8] Acus ni h-e Polinices adrubairt (rim) techt, acht mad[9] duba acus
Fol. 8a 1. do-meanma,[10] eccumsanad acus etfualang do m' buaidred[11] o thucai-siu[12] me do Polinices. Acus, a ri adei rit-su,[13] tabair furtacht ar in fear sin acus commor catha les do chosnum na Tebi; acus a athair inmain,' ar si, 'abair i tibrea, uair ro chara-sa in fer sin, acus is coraide ditsiu cungnam les.[14] Acus ge tu-sa a n-iu[15] ac tendad in tachair

[1] comaentugud. [2] fogradhugud. [3] Eg. omits. [4–4] imon.
[5] Ed. a mac fein acus a maic bicc. [6] as. [7] inniser.
[8] duit. [9] ma.

[10] Text of loose narrow leaf ends here. On the blank space are several notes, the first only bearing on the text: Ni h-easbaid an bán-sa an deiread na duilleoigi, acht a easbaid ar n-a comlanachad. 'There is no lack in this blank space at the end of the leaf; the lack is in filling it up.'

[11] puaidredh. [12] d'tuci-sa. [13] ar na deibh ritsa. [14] leís é. [15] iúgh.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

THE Greeks raised a tremendous shout above the continuous din they made in consenting to Capaneus's (words), like the roar of a violent, rushing torrent in cold spring-time crashing through the woods and sloping glens of the land. When night came these champions broke up their meeting.

[1] Though multitudes slept, Argia, daughter of Adrastus, wife of Polinices, was not of the number—she was perplexed and disturbed in mind on her husband's account. She had none of her husband's society or speech, because of his anxiety and perplexity as to how he should deal with his brother regarding his portion in the sovereignty and dominion. At the end of the night she went forth to her father's very lofty palace, leading her little boy Thessander, Polinices's son, by the hand, and said to her father: 'You know, beloved father Adrastus,' said she, 'the quest on which I have come to your house, without being told. It was not Polinices who bade me come, but the sadness and depression, the restlessness and vexation which trouble me since you have given me to him. And, by the gods, O king, give assistance to that man and press on the war along with him to get possession of Thebes; and, beloved father,' added she, 'say that you will assist, for I love the man, and it is meet that you support him. And although I am to-day urging on this quarrel, I shall certainly be restraining it on another occasion, in fear of the evil it will bring

[1] Th., iii. 677.

is doig leam biait[1] a ris acc a thairmesc re h-ecla uilc daibsi.' Acus as a h-aithli sin ro poc Adraist a ingin, acus (adubairt): 'A ingen,' ar se, 'ni aiscim ort in geran da ni acus in n-aicine fuacraid.[2] [3]Cuir det t'ecla[3] acus dena do cheli do chomdignad. Uair atamaid-ne ac fur in chatha sin, acus is cinti a chur.' Et o thanic in maten[4] re crichaib in chomraid sin ro erig Adraist.

Tri bliadna tra co h-aes na h-aimsire ailli errochaide sin ro bas ac fur na fingaili sin iter na Tiauandaib acus na Grecaib. Acus ergid in badb catha cosnamach acus ro caithistair aithindeda adanta uruada uas cathrachaib na n-Grec acus na Tiabanda. Ro gair acus ro grain uas na long-portaib lethna lan-fata co ro gabsadar buidni bruthmara acus tren-fhir talchara a n-armu aithgera ri tenta tindeanais[5] na baidbi bel-dergi sin. Et o tanic amser in chatha do chommorad do ronaid idbarta aidbli mora leo co samlaitis na sacairt maith tres na h-idbartaib doib iar tain. Acus is ann sin ro ergedar macaim beca buaigelta acus ingena nua-glana nairecha acus seanoraig crina chrot-bolla do celebrad do na fearaib sin, co snigtis frasa diana der dar cathbarraib cocuasta, dar armaib acus[6] etaigib na curad cumachta sin ac pocad a cheli re scarad.

Tochastol na n-Grec ann so uadeasta. Acus is iad so na ciniuda do chuadar do chum in chatha sin [7]con a rigaib uaisli leo .*i*. [7] in ri toirrsech taetanach anband anindech[8] snimach fir-chelgach[9] Adraist. Acus ni ba setrech re h-imurcar[10] n-airm in fer sin acht mad a chloideam nama, acus a airm ac a muinntir 'n a degaid. Ro cheangail acus ro cumdaig a ara a eocho diana deig-rethta in dorus na cathrach Larisa. Acus ro bai a ech socair so-ermach .*i*. Areon ac doibli acus ac daeibili,[11] acus ua comartha uilc iar tain acco-son sin. Is and sin ro ergetar slúaig[12] acus sochaidi[12] acus sochraideada in rig uasail Adraist as a cathrachaib dilsi dath-glana uaden. Acus it e ann so a

[1] beth. [2] uair. [3–3] curidh fort. [4] máidin.
[5] teinnusa. [6] Eg. adds dar. [7] Eg. omits. [8] ainmineach.
[9] sir-heglach. [10] imchar. [11] dobeili. [12–12] Eg. omits.

upon you.' Thereafter Adrastus kissed his daughter, and (said): 'Daughter,' said he, 'I blame you not for the plaint you make, nor for the distress you labour under. Lay aside your fear, and console your husband. For we are preparing for the war, and it shall assuredly be waged.' Morning came by the time this parley ended, and Adrastus retired.

For [1] three years now until the period of lovely springtime came they were preparing for this fraternal war between the Thebans and the Greeks. Then the contentious Goddess of War arose and flung flaming, ill-boding brands over the cities of Greece and Thebes. She shouted and raged above the broad and spacious camps. And ardent troops and sturdy, mighty men grasped their sharpened weapons at the urgent pressing of that red-lipped Fury. When the time of mustering for the war came, huge sacrifices were offered in order that the priests might declare a favourable issue for the expedition eventually. Then assembled little, tender boys and pure, modest girls and withered, bent old men to bid farewell to the troops. And heavy showers of tears fell from hollow helmets and over the arms and armour of these powerful champions as they kissed their dear ones at parting.

The muster of the Greeks is here set forth. These were the tribes which went forth to that war, accompanied by their noble kings. First, the [2] depressed, harassed, frail, unstable, anxious-minded, ever-timid Adrastus. He was not strong enough to carry his weapons, save only his sword, his (other) weapons were borne by his servants behind him. His charioteer yoked and harnessed his vehement, swift horses at the gate of the city Larissa. His staid, easily-ridden steed Arion was chafing and prancing, and they looked upon this as an omen of evil to come. Then gathered the hosts and multitudes and troops of the noble king Adrastus from their own native, bright cities. These are

[1] Th., iv. 1. [2] Th., iv. 38.

n-anmann side .i. Larisa acus Procinna acus Mída acus Pilos acus Neris ar bru srotha Caradron, acus Cleon acus Tíle i crichaib na Lecdomoin. Acus tangadar na ciniuda comnesta a slebtib cairrgecha[1] Drepain acus as an chathraig Aisition,[2] iter in sruth lan-mor Lanngia acus in sruth
Fol. 8a 2. n-adbul Eleos. Acus tangas[3] as in chathraig uraird[4] oaibind,[5] a h-Efir, acus a Conrae, acus as na crichaib uile iter topur prim-alaind Pegais iar n-iartur acus in sliab n-aibind Ithmos iar n-airtur, acus in muir n-ard n-Adriadecda[6] iar tuaiscart, acus in mu(i)r n-ainbthenach n-Egeta[7] iar n-(d)escert i sochraide Adraist. Acus ua tri mile lin in t-(s)loig sin ac subochus ma rig,[8] co n-armaib ecsamlaib uair[9] ni ua cosmail na ciniuda. Uair ro uadar cesfhagada[10] lethna lan-gera ac forind do na fearaib sin, acus leth-gai londrecha lasamna ac airiucht[11] aile dib, acus taibli taidlecha tul-amais acus boga blaithi beand-chruaidi ac drem aile.[12] Acus ua samalta in ri uasal Adraist iter na h-airechtaib sin .i.[13] tarb n-ard n-aduathmar co n-imad crecht ar n-a cresugud[14] in a curp con na fedad[15] oc daim na n-almad fegad fair re h-aduath[16] a adarc tul-mael tamnaigin[17] ri tenta gacha[18] tachair.

Is ann sin imorro ro thocaib in tren fher tend talchar Tiauanda, Polinices mac Eidip, a mergeda arrda aduathmara. Acus is iad ua cuingid chatha 'm an fer sin na Tiauanda tairisi tangatar as a tir da n-indsaigid, acus cethirna cathrach ra tinnscarnastar[19] Adraist do maroen re[20] ingin. Acus at iat so na cathracha .i. Eogeon acus Arenen acus cathair Teis mic Nemtuin[21] .i. Toeiste. Ua h-inunn arm acus etgud do Polinices inn uair sin acus inn agaig tanic riam reim co tech Adraist .i. croicend leomain talchair teomescada ime, acus slega rind-gera ro-remra in a laim, gu n-gonad-som remi acus d'a eis dib sin, acus claideb

[1] Eg. adds a.
[2] Iastoin.
[3] tancastar.
[4] n-uraird.
[5] n-oaibind.
[6] n-Adhriata.
[7] n-Edeta.
[8] mu'n ri.
[9] Eg. omits.
[10] faga.
[11] oreachtaibh.
[12] Eg. adds dib.
[13] acus.
[14] cnessud.
[15] fetfud.
[16] adhfhuath.
[17] tamnaigh.
[18] in.
[19] tinnsgnadar.
[20] Eg. adds a.
[21] Neptuin.

the names of those cities—Larissa and Proshymna and Midea and Phyllos and Neris on the bank of the stream Charadron, and Cleona and Thyre in the country of Lacedaemon. And thither came the tribes next to them from the rocky hills of Drepanum and from the city of Sicyon, between the very full river Langia and the very large river Elisson. They came from the lofty, pleasant city Ephyre, and from Cenchreae, and from all the countries between the noble and lovely fountain of Pegasis in the west, and the bright hill of Isthmos in the east, and between the high Adriatic Sea in the north and the tempestuous Ægean Sea in the south (to swell) the hosts of Adrastus. The number of the troops as they joyously surrounded their king in their diverse accoutrements, for the tribes were of various races, was three thousand. Some of the men carried broad, very sharp, deadly spears, some had clubs hardened and polished in fire, some bore gleaming slings of deadly aim, while others carried smooth, hard-pointed bows. The noble king Adrastus stood among these troops like a large, fierce bull, carrying in his body the scars of many a wound, so that the young steers of the herds would not dare to look at him, in dread of these terrible, deadly horns proved in many a stiff fight.

Then [1] also the mighty, stout, sturdy Theban, Polinices, son of Oedipus, raised his tall, terrible banners. The battle champions that accompanied him were the loyal Thebans who came from their own land to join him, and the troops of the cities which Adrastus had assigned to him when he married his daughter. These are the cities, viz., Aegion and Arene and the city of Theseus, son of Neptune, viz. Troegen. The weapons and armour of Polinices were those which he bore on the night when he first came to the palace of Adrastus, to wit, the skin of a strong, prompt, alert lion covering him, with very thick, sharp-pointed spears in his hand, by which he could wound in front and rear, and a long, very sharp-edged sword on his left side with

[1] Th., iv. 74.

fata fir-faebrach uar[1] chliu co n-delb in torathair ro marbad le h-Eidip and .i. Spix.[2] Cid tra acht ua fata re Polinices techt in turas (s)in in tan do berad da ind Argia, ingen Adraist, a ban-chele uadein dácuail[3] da eis. Acus ua tindeanus leis tocht[4] d'indsaigi a flaithiusa a mathar acus a muntir in fecht n-aile.[5] Acus ua ceitri mili lin na sochraidi sin munter in fhir[6] sin.

Is ann sin imorro ro choraig in fer sotal saignenta[7] failid arnaid esadail[8] .i. Tid an muntir uar aird. Acus ro erig menma in milid sin o t' chualaich na stuccu 'c a senm, amal eirges nathair oilmir anindech[9] re tincur na greni il-lo samraid solusta, co n-tobruchtad tondgara nemi uar feraib futhremra, co na lamad duni na ceithri buain ris. Acus ua h-iat sluaig inn fhir sin ciniuda calma Philine,[10] acus mileda primda Pleuron (acus is inti sin ro bid a brathairsi .i. Meliager), acus cetherna calma Calidone, acus air-
Fol. 8b 1. eachta Elenos, acus curaid na cathrach Colchus,[11] acus aitrebaid[12] in t-(s)rotha Achilous, cathracha na h-Edailti[13] i crichaib na Calidoine sin. Acus is amlaid badar lucht na cathrach sin acus cath-cliatha aidbli umaide acco do diden a corp re cathugud, acus laigneda lethna in a lamaib re letrad, acus cathbairr caema cumdachta 'm a cendaib. Acus ro iadsad as gach aird inn ocuadatu tenn togaide sin 'm an milid maisech mor-menmnach .i. Tid mac Oenius. Ua subach i cathaib in cuingid sin, acus ua teinn tomaitheam Tid ar na Tiabandaib na ba gur Polinices.

As a h-aithli sin ro erig in rig ard airegda .i. Ipomedon gasta gruad-solus, acus timsaigid a shluaig leis o bruichib srotha lan-alaind Licc, acus o imlib srotha Inaich, acus o crichaib arda srotha Asterion. Acus tancadar and dan na dirmada doilgi Droipecda, acus na h-airechta ai(d)bli Epecda, acus na h-il-buidni airrdrici Eperdurdá. Acus tangadar leis fos milid maithi menmnach na cath(r)ach Dimé, acus buidne dluithi deg-daingne na cathrach Pilos.

[1] Eg. adds a. [2] Spinx. [3] cúl. [4] techt.
[5] Ed. repeats acus in fecht aile. [6] Ed. fher. [7] saidenta.
[8] asaghail. [9] ainminech. [10] Pholine. [11] Colchis.
[12] aitrebhthaidh. [13] Edailli.

the figure of the Sphinx, the monster which Oedipus slew, (graven) upon it. Howbeit Polinices felt reluctant to go on that expedition when he reflected that he must leave behind him Argia, the daughter of Adrastus (now) his own wife. The next moment he felt eager to invade the dominion of his mother and people. The number of the troops that accompanied him was four thousand.

It [1] was at the same time that the proud, fiery, blithe, stern, impatient Tydeus marshalled his people in order. The spirit of that warrior rose when he heard the blast of the war trumpets, as rises the slimy, venomous serpent when the sun beats upon it on a bright summer day, when it belches forth waves of venom upon the luscious grass, so that neither man nor cattle dare attack it. The hosts of this warrior were the brave tribes of Pylene, and the foremost warriors of Pleuron (it was in this city that his brother Meleaeger dwelt), and the stalwart troops of Calydon, and the hordes of Olenos, and the champions of the city Chalcis, and the dwellers by the river Achelous—these were Italian cities bordering on Calydon. And thus were the people of that city with huge battle-hurdles of brass for protecting their bodies when they fought, and broad spears in their hands for attacking, and fair, adorned helmets on their heads. The stoutest and best of the youths gathered from everywhere around the handsome, high-spirited Tydeus, son of Oeneus. Battles were the delight of that champion ; stern and unrelenting was Tydeus towards the Thebans, not less so than even Polinices.

Thereafter [2] arose the tall and stately king Hippomedon, majestic, ruddy-cheeked, and mustered his hosts from the banks of the very beautiful river Lyrcius, and from the borders of the river Inachus, and from the upper regions of the river Asterion. There came besides the hosts of the Dryopes, hard to withstand, and the vast hordes of Epeans (?) and the numerous, excellent companies from Epidauria. There came further the efficient and brave

[1] Th., iv. 93. [2] Th., iv. 116.

Acus ua h-esti [1] sin do Neastoir mac Taicsis mic Neleus do chind gaisi Grec. Acus ua h-oc h-e in tan sin; acus ger' b'oc ro op tocht do thogail na Tebe in tan sin. Acht ro imluaid Ipomedon lucht na cathrach leis ar cheana tre laechdacht [2] al-laime do chum in chatha. Acus is amlaid bai Ipomedon acus cathbarr [3] alaind umaidi co tri ciraib comarda cathbairr, coma samalta re snechta ar a sar-gili im a cend. Acus ua cengalta corp in curad sin uile o armaib. Uair is amlaid ro bai-sium acus cruind-sciath luchair lasamain fair, co n-delbaib cloindi Danaus acus Beil. Acus is amlaid ro uadar sec [4] in da n-(d)erbrathair [5] acus fich fergi etarru: caeca ingen ac Danaus acus comlin sin do macaib ac Béil. Acus adrubairt Dánaus re ingenaib: 'Do ber-sa sib,' ar se,' do macaib Beil, acus marbait-si iat is an oidchi.' Acus is amlaid sin do ronsad, acht oen bean nama. Acus ni-s-marb sein a fer .i. Linus. Acus ra uadar delba na dremi sin acus delba il-eccair imda eile is in sciath sin ar n-a rindad ind. Acus ua samalta co n-crithnigitis na coillti acus co n-tairnitis na slebti sainemna [6] so-imthechta ua cosaib in curad sin a crathad a sceith iter na h-airechtaib re tinchur tachuir. Acus cuich in dune da ticfad na ciniuda cosnamacha sin acus na cuingid chatha acus imad airm na milead mor-menmnach sin d'airium? Acht chena tangadar tri cet do gillaib occa athluma a cathraig Ercoil .i. Tirindta. Acus tanic dan and maraen ris Agelleus mac Ercoil as an chathraig cetna maraen re Hippomedón. Et ger' uaiti [7] aittrebaidi na cathrach sin, ua h-airdi side acus ua h-airside in n-aimsir
Fol. 8b 2. irgaile. Acus ni ro h-imirchuirit fagada seta suainmecha re dibrucun [8] ac in dreim sin na cloidme cruaide re cathletrad, acht mad fadba leoman letarthach acus tamain troma do giuis ar na garb-snoigi, acus saigdi sainemla sarechta a bogadaib buidi beand-chruaidi, co n-cadais admolad Ercoil reompu is in sligid i sochraide Ipomedon. Acus

[1] aisti. [2] laechdochta. [3] cathbarra. [4] seíg.
[5] Ed. in da danerbrathair. [6] soinemla. [7] uathudh.
[8] dibrucudh.

soldiers of the city Dyme, and the dense and stout troops of the city Pylos. Nestor, son of Taicsis(?), son of Neleus, the wisest of Greeks, was a native of this city. He was young at this time, but young though he was, he refused to go to the siege of Thebes. But Hippomedon persuaded the inhabitants of the city, because of his prowess, to follow him to the war. And thus was Hippomedon, he wore a beautiful helmet of brass with three lofty crests as tall as a helmet of surpassing whiteness like snow. The body of the champion was entirely protected by his weapons. For thus he was with a gleaming, flashing, round shield upon him (adorned) with the figures of the children of Danaus and Belus. And these two brothers were in fierce feud with each other. Danaus had fifty daughters, while Belus had an equal number of sons. Danaus said to his daughters : 'I shall give you,' said he, '(in marriage) to the sons of Belus, and you will slay them in the night.' And so they did, save only one who did not slay her husband, Lynceus. The figures of these and many others were carved on the shield (of Hippomedon). And it seemed as if the woods would tremble, and the grand, easily-traversed hills would yield beneath the feet of that champion as he brandished his shield among the hosts in front of battle. And no man was able to reckon the number of these contentious tribes and battle champions with their multitudes of high-spirited warriors. There went forth, moreover, from Herculus's city, Tiryns, three hundred active, gallant youths, and from the same city, besides, there joined Hippomedon Agylleus, son of Hercules. And though the inhabitants of that city were few in numbers, they were very tall, and were veterans when it came to fighting. They carried neither long, well-fitted spears for hurling (at their foes), nor swords of steel for hewing in battle, only the spoils of a devouring lion, and heavy clubs of pine roughly hewn, and polished, deadly arrows, with yellow, steel-pointed bows. They chanted the praises of Hercules as they marched with the troops of Hippomedon. There went forth fighting foot soldiers from

tangatar cethirna [1] comlaind a coilltib Neim, acus muntir Molorcus as na coilltib craebacha cloenda i coimitecht in marcaig mor-menmnaig sin Ipomedon. Sochraidi Ipomedon sin.

As a h-aithli sin ro erig in fer taend tarcaisnech [2] .*i.* Capaneus, acus conberad a ormna os na cathaib cechtarda, acus rogabastar a sciath mor mileta, ar n-a comcheangal do seithedaib ceithri tarb, ar n-a deig rindad do igmaigib [3] nathrach acus loiscend acus torathar in talman ar cheana, comdidned corriced [4] in churad sin o bond co bathais; acus ro gob a luir(i)g snithi snadmannaig n-dualaich n-drolmanaig uachthir [5] diamrib a etaich; acus ro gab a cathbarr rinnta ruithnigthech imm a ceand in cathmiled; acus ro gob a sleig crann-reamar comthruim i n-a laim, na fedad du(i)ne aile for talmain do tocbail acht mad in ri calma curata .*i.* Capaneus. Acus tangadar i sochraidi in rig sin athtrebáide na cathrach Aínpíganía, acus mílid menmnecha Meséne, acus arsigi irgaili na cathrach Ethóne, acus trenfhir thairsceanacha [6] na cathrach Tíron, acus airechta Ephi,[7] acus sluag suaichinti Selos acus tir primda Piléon, acus dronga deg-sluag [8] a Dorion.[9] Toicheastol Capaneuis mic Tarsis conigi sin.

Is and sin imorro ro eirig in rig-sacart uasal .*i.* Ampiaraus do thogail na Tebi. Acus ge da [10] chúaid-sium ann sin ro bai a fhis aicci gach olc do robi [11] do fen de, acus do chach ar chena. Acus ni da deoin do chuaid-sium ann acht tre aslach ecni.[12] Uair ro falaig Amphiaraus é re h-ecla cathaigthi na Tebi, acus ni fhitir duini cait ir-roibi acht a banchele uadein. Acus o rabas ac a iaraid adubairt Eriphile re h-Argia, 'Tabair-seo [13] damsa,' ar si,[14] 'in muntorc oir [15] fil acut,[15] acus braithfet dit mo chele .*i.* Amphiaraus, uair ni fuil [16] tarba in tachair-sea na Tebi 'na ingnais.' Acus [17] o t' chualaig Argía sin ro indis d'a fir .*i.* do Polineces, acus adubairt Polineces in muntorc [18] do tabairt do Éripile, acus

[1] cetharnda. [2] contarcaisnech. [3] fhogb̄. [4] c̄p.
[5] uachter. [6] targsinacha. [7] Epe. [8] sloig.
[9] Dhoron. [10] ged. [11] roibhi. [12] n-égne.
[13] -si. [14] Ed. se. [15–15] si. [16] bfuil.
[17] Eg. omits. [18] Eg. adds oir.

the woods of Nemea, and the people of Molorchus from the branchy, waving woods in attendance on the magnanimous horseman Hippomedon. Such were the hosts of Hippomedon.

Thereafter [1] appeared the stalwart, contumelious Capaneus, carrying his shoulders high above the battalions on either side of him, and seized his great, warlike shield of firmly knit four bull hides, and well graven with figures of serpents, and toads, and other monsters of the earth, (so large) that it protected the hero from sole to crown; and he fitted his well-finished, knotted, looped, linked, hauberk over his under raiment; and the battle warrior put his carved, glittering helmet on his head; and he took his thick-shafted, very heavy spear in his hand, which none other on earth could wield save only the courageous, heroic King Capaneus. His troops comprised the inhabitants of the city Amphigenia, and the spirited warriors of Messene, and the veterans in fight of the city Ithome, and the disdainful, mighty men of the city Thryon, and the multitudes from Aepy, and the well-known hosts of Helos, and of the old land of Pteleon, and a troop of stout men from Dorion. Such was the muster of the troops of Capaneus, son of Tarsis.

There [2] went, besides, to the conquest of Thebes the noble, royal priest Amphiaraus. And although he went on that expedition, he knew the fatal consequences to himself and the others as well, therefrom. Unwillingly he went, through forceful persuasion. For Amphiaraus hid himself through dread of the Theban war, and no one knew where he was except his own wife. And when they were searching for him, Eriphyle said to Argia: 'Give to me,' said she, 'the golden necklace you possess, and I shall betray Amphiaraus my husband to you, for there will be no successful issue to this Theban war without him.' When Argia heard this she told it to her husband Polynices. Polynices asked that the necklace be given to Eriphyle.

[1] Th., iv. 165. [2] Th., iv. 187.

da radad disi sin. Acus ro indis doib in t-inad ir-roibi Ampiaraus. Acus ro h-aslaiged fair techt do thogail [1] Tebi. Acus is tres in muntorc sin do rochair [2] Ampiaraus a bean acus a mac iar tain.[3] Cid tra acht ro h-indled a
Fol. 9a 1. carbad do Ampiaraus ar echaib caema comret(h)a do shil Shillaruis, eich Chastoir mic Ioib. Acus ro gabastar a barrin aloinn [4] oengel [5] im a chend co n-a chimsaib coema corcar-glana fair. Acus ua crithnaigthech carbad in curad sin ris in coill athger iarnaidi d'armaib saiti seasmacha batar immi is in charbad, coma h-aduath [6] faircsena re [7] gach n-dum [7]-sleg digaind derrscaitheach ind fir sin, amail ralaig ro remair i fhaicsin os cind a charpait in rig sin acus a sciath rigda ro alaind i comfhocus do. Acus ba h-iat cethirna [8] in curad sin do chum in chatha i tangatar a h-indsib Ainicclas, acus as na cathrachaib .i. a Pilos, acus a Pharis, acus a Mose, acus buidne tenda Tagéti, acus milid digaire danarda srotha Eorata. Acus ba subach somenmnach na sar sloig sin ri tenta tachair. Acus ba faelid mna acus maithrecha na milead sin da marbad ac denam maithusa. Acus ar echaib concing(t)is a catha acus da fhaga ar oen [9] suaineam il-laim gach fhir dib. Acus ba nochta [10] formna na fer sin acus broit garba gaeisidecha o slindenaib sis umpu, acus cathbairr coemgair [11] ma cendaib na curad sin. Acus dan tangadar la h- Ampiaraus airig [12] acus urrig a h-Elis, acus a Pisa, acus o sruth Alfeus. Acus is dar in sruthi [13] sin ro snoed [14] Leandar d'indsaide al-leanna(i)n .i. Era,[15] co ra baidedé aen [16] n-aidchi and sin 'ca h-indsaide.[15] Sochraide in prim sacairt Ampiaraus [17] moir [18] conigi sin.

As a h-aithli sin ro gresestar in gilla oc aededach [19] .i. Pardonopeus, ri na h-Arcaidi .i. mac murnech Meliager mic Oeniuis, a buidne beoda bagacha a Parrass do togail

[1] Eg. adds na. [2] thorchair. [3] bainchele.
[4] doloind. [5] gil. [6] adhshuath. [7–7] cach n-duine.
[8] cetharna. [9] t-suainem. [10] MS. nōsa.
[11] cathbarra coemegair. [12] ar*igh*. [13] sruith.
[14] snoidh.
[15–15] gur báidhedh é ann sin ga h-innsa*igi* san óidhchi. [16] MS. aenona.
[17] Ed. MS. Amp*ri*arus. [18] uasail. [19] éididech.

This was done, and she told them the place where Amphiaraus was. He was persuaded to go on the expedition to Thebes. And it was because of that necklace that Amphiaraus and his wife and his son eventually came by their death. Howbeit, Amphiaraus's chariot was yoked to the beautiful, very swift horses of the blood of Cyllarus, the steed of Castor, son of Jove. And (the priest) put his lovely, all-white mitre (?) on his head, with fair, purple-bright fringes adorning it. Ever jolting was the chariot of that hero, because of the very sharp iron forest of fixed, upstanding weapons that were all around him in it, and a terrible sight it was with the many heaps of excellent, choice spears which towered like a very thick oak above the chariot of that prince (as he sat) with his regal, very beautiful shield beside him. The troops which that hero brought to the war were from the isles of Amyclae and from the cities of Pylos and Pharis and Messe, and the sturdy companies of Taygetus, and the fierce, grim warriors of the river Eurota. Merry and light-hearted were these glorious hosts in the face of conflict, and glad were the wives and mothers of the warriors to hear of them slain, fighting valiantly. They marched to the war on horseback with two spears fastened by a single cord in the hand of each man of them. Bare were the shoulders of these men, with rough, hairy mantles hanging down from their shoulder-blades; helmets beautifully inlaid covered the heads of these champions. There went, besides, with Amphiaraus, princes and chieftains from Elis and from Pisa and from the river Alpheos. It was across this river that Leander used to swim to visit his sweetheart Hero, until he was drowned there one night on his way to her. The troops of the great high priest Amphiaraus these.

After[1] this the young, sprightly lad Parthenopaeus, King of Arcadia, the gallant son of Meleager, son of Oeneus, led forth, without his mother's knowledge, his spirited,

[1] Th., iv. 246.

Teibi, gan fhis da mathair. Acus ro p'aineolach ar in dimbuaid co h-aes na fuairi sin in maccan[1] sin. Acht chena ro gresastar[2] bedga beodachta e do chum in catha sin.[3] Acus is i mathair in mic sin ro indarbad alla in tiri in n-enad selga, uair ni ua tualaing tachair h-i re n-a[4] h-arrsaighect in tan sin. Acht cena ni dechaid do thogail Tebi nech ua di-ailli[5] na ua der-ergnu[6] ina in ri Perdonopeus. Acus concarad gach duni atchid e. Acus ba h-anrata[7] aicned ind fhir sin, ge r' b' anarrsaig ar n-ais. Acus ua h-e mian in miled sin stuicc chatha do cloistecht acus airm d'imluad acus catha do commorad. Acus ua fata leseom gon fordergad a shoigdi a curadaib coimithi. Acus ua taitneamach errig in n-og[8] sin dor[9] re cach i(n)sin tinol sin. Uair is amlaid ro ba-seom acus lend corr(c)ar-glan immi, co slabradaib orda il-eccair, acus cru(i)nd-sciath cruaid cabradach ar a muin, acus boga tren tairbertach in al-laim cli chosnamaig,[10] acus saiged-bolc solusta do craicciund linci
Fol. 9a 2. ar n-a lin[11]-ecar do lecaib logmara ar comair in rig sin, con cinged-sum ar echaib srianacha so-ermacha[12] in uair sin, ima n-iaditis airechta agmara na h-Arcaide, coma suaiti achaidi[13] slebe Menail acus fidnemid[14] Parteim dar eis.[15] Acus tangadar dirma sloig as na cathrachaib .i. a Rirpha, acus a Strachta, acus a h-Anipe, acus a Tegea, acus a Sillena, acus a(n) Nonaiccria, acus a h-Airchimen, acus a h-Agros, acus a Sofid,[16] acus a h-Eremaint, acus a Sterefal. Et at iat so srotha as a tangadar sochraidi la Pardonopeus .i. Cliton[17] acus Pitia acus Lampia acus Penei acus Ason, acus taisich Parráis iar tuasceirt na Greici. Acus ge r' b' Arcedacda[18] uili in lucht sin, ua h-ecsamail an airm acus an erred. Uair is amlaid ro uatar dream do na dirmaib[19] sin acus mirti mora in a lamaib ar n-a tarraing a tendtaib talman, acus lorga adbul-mora oaegurda[20] ac drem aili dib,

[1] maccam. [2] gresatar. [3] Eg. adds na Tebi.
[4] Eg. omits. [5] udh aille. [6] ergna. [7] urrunta.
[8] oicc. [9] Eg. omits. [10] cosantóigh. [11] lan.
[12] Ed. adds sin. [13] acruaidh. [14] nemegda acus.
[15] n-eis. [16] Sifid. [17] Clton. [18] uairsegda.
[19] dirmedhaib. [20] egardha.

warlike troops from Parrhasia to the siege of Thebes. That youth was up to that very time ignorant of warfare of any kind. Nevertheless the promptings of valour urged him to that war. It was the mother of this boy who in her day ranged over this land as a huntress, for because of her age she was at that time unfit for warfare. Howbeit, not a handsomer or nobler man than King Parthenopaeus went forth to the Theban war. All who saw him loved him. Though young in years he was of warlike spirit. The (young) warrior was eager to hear the blast of the war trumpet, to wield his weapons, and acquit himself in battle. He longed to redden his arrows in (the blood of) hostile champions. Brilliant was the array of that youth as he appeared in the front of that muster. For thus he was with a beautiful, purple-bright smock adorned with chains of gold covering him, a round, hard . . . shield on his back, a strong, easily-carried bow in his valiant left hand, and a bright quiver of lynx-skin garnished with precious stones on the breast of that king. He rode at that time well-bridled, well-trained steeds, surrounded by the warlike hosts of Arcadia, and closely followed by troops from the fields surrounding the hill of Maenalos and the sacred grove of Parthenium. There accompanied him numberless hosts from the cities of Rhipe and Stratie and Enispe and Tegea and Cyllene and Nonacrius and Orchomenos and Agros and Psophis and Erymanthos and Stymphalos. And these are the rivers from which troops followed Parthenopaeus, viz. Clitor and Pythia and Lampia and Pheneos and Azan, together with the chiefs of Parrhasia in the north of Greece. And though these were Arcadians all, they had diverse weapons and dress. For thus were some of these multitudes with great myrtle (saplings) pulled out of the earth in their hands; some carried huge shepherd crooks; some beautifully pointed bows; while others carried long, sharp-pointed stakes. Hollow helmets protected their heads. But although Mycenae was in the immediate neighbourhood, there went no troops from thence along with the kings to Thebes. For

acus [1] bogada bend chaema ac drem aili dib, acus [1] bera fata fir-gera d'armaib ac drem aili dib, acus cathbairr [2] cocuasta ma cendaib. Acus ger' ua comfhocus doib Meiccin ann na tangadar sochraidi sloig esti aroen ris na rigaib sin do chum ua Tebi. Uair ua san a(i)msir sin do chuaid Tiestis mac Peloip [3] meic Tantail co(m) mnai n-Aitir meic Peloip. Acus o t'chualich Aitir sin ro marbastar a dalta fen, mac Tiestis, acus tuc do Tiestis ar n-a bearbad co ro caith a richt feola. Acus indister cor' inta [4] grian fair a r(r)ith, uair nar uail le tuidecht [5] os cind na cathrach colaigi sin in la sin. Conid imi sin na deachaid sochraidi sloig a Maen acus a Meicinib do chum na Tebi, amail indister ar fingail claindi Tantail. Et o t'chualaig Athalanta, mathair Pardonopeuis, a mac do thocht isin sluagad [6] sin, ro erig amail tigir tairptig [7] tindesnaig in n-deagaid a meic da fhastud.[8] Acus tucastar athais acus imdercad ar a mac acus ar lucht na h-Arcaidi uili bai [9] 'na fharrad. Acus ni dérnad furri sin, acht mad taisich [10] na h-Arcaidi ac a nertad leo do chum in [11] chatha. Acus ni etad [12] in n-ingen alaind Athalanta delugadh re mac ar a inmaine. Acus ro bai ac a aichne [13] do'n aird-rig [14] Adraist an mac sin Athalanta na ban-selgaire acus Meliager ri cuana Calidone. Sochraidi sloig Arcaidi ann sin.

Tochastol na n-Grec conigi sin do chum na Tebe.

Acht cheana ba h-iad da chathraig cudruma [15] na n-Greg ar chrodacht[16] .i. in Teib talchar ar imad a miled ac srainiud [17] chath acus chomlaind, acus in Athain ar leri [18] a h-ecna acus a h-eolais.

[1-1] Eg. omits.
[2] cathbarra.
[3] Pailip.
[4] ínntógh.
[5] toighecht.
[6] sluaighidh.
[7] tairbhthig.
[8] fhasdod.
[9] bui.
[10] tusocha.
[11] Eg. omits.
[12] nirféd.
[13] aithne.
[14] Eg. adds d'.
[15] cotromm.
[16] ar a crodacht.
[17] sroínnedh.
[18] leire.

it was at that time that Thyestes, the son of Pelops, son of Tantalus, had violated the wife of Atreus, son of Pelops. When Atreus heard of it he slew his own fosterling, the son of Thyestes, and had his flesh cooked and served up to (his father) Thyestes for food. And it is told the Sun turned in his course, for he refused to shine on that incestuous city that day. Whence it was that no troops went from Maeonia or Mycenae to Thebes, as is related in (the story of) the murder of the children of Tantalus. When Atalanta, mother of Parthenopaeus, heard that her son had gone on that expedition, she followed him, with the view to detain him, like a strong, impatient tigress. She censured and reproached her son and all the Arcadians who were with him. They said nothing in reply, save only that the Arcadian chiefs pressed her to accompany them to the war. And the beautiful woman Atalanta could not bear to part with her son, because of her love for him. And she made known to the high king Adrastus that (Parthenopaeus) was the son of Atalanta the huntress, and of Meleaeger, the humane king of Calydon. Such were the hosts of Arcadia.

The muster of the Greeks for the expedition against Thebes thus far.

Now the two chief cities of Greece equal in renown were Thebes the strong, because of the number of her warriors and their prowess in battle and conflict; and Athens, because of her fame for wisdom and learning.

TRADITIONS OF THE LAND OF LORNE AND THE HIGHLAND ANCESTRY OF ROBERT BURNS

THE LATE ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, LL.D.

THE Land of Lorne is probably the most interesting part of Scotland. It is the most diversified and picturesque in scenery, the most varied in fauna and geology, the richest in sculpture and architecture, and the most endowed with historical and legendary associations.

The Land of Lorne was the seat of the Pictish kingdom of the west, the home of Deirdire and Clann Uisne, the home of the Dalriads, and the resting-place of the Lia-Fail. It was the chief centre of the Columban missionaries, who carried the Gospel east and west, north and south, through England and over the Continent, to the north of Europe as far as Iceland. In Lorne was the seat of the first parliament of Scotland, the language of which was Gaelic. And coming down the stream of time it was the home of the ancestors of John Macdonald (Ian Lom), of Duncan (Ban) Macintyre, of Robert Burns, of Sir Roderick Murchison, of David Livingstone, and of John Ruskin.

Lorne was also the central seat of the great Somerled, Thane of Argyll, Lord of the Isles, King of the Western Seas—Rex Insularum. When Somerled died he left the islands of the west and the northern territories, together with the Lordship of the Isles, to his heir Donald, while he left the lands of Lorne with the Thaneship of Argyll to his tanist Dugall. Dugall, Lord of Lorne and Thane of Argyll, would seem to have come early into conflict with the crown. The lands of Muckairn in the Lordship of Lorne were taken from Dugall and gifted to the church of St. Cyril by Margaret the Saxon wife of Malcolm Ceannmor. Dugall of Lorne, however, and his descendants leased the lands of Muckairn from the Church.

In 1495 Archibald, the second Earl of Argyll, obtained

the wardship of Muireal, the infant child and heiress of William, Thane of Calder, and of his wife Isobel, daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilravock. In 1499 the Earl sent his brother, Campbell of Inverliver (Inbhír-lìbheir), to bring Muireal Calder from Kilravock to Inveraray.

Campbell of Inverliver was accompanied by sixty selected men, commanded by Campbell of Achnambreac, a brave man and a daring and skilful leader. Having obtained the child from her grandmother, the Lady Rose of Kilravock, the Campbells set out for home. They were pursued by the Calders, led by Alexander and Hugh Calder, the uncles of the heiress. The Calders came up with the Campbells at Daltulaich in Strathnairn, and for a time hung upon their rear.

When the Campbells saw that a battle was imminent, Campbell of Inverliver called to Campbell of Achnambreac, 'De ni sinn ma mharbhar an te ruadh?' 'Cha mharbh dha'n te ruaidh am fad agus is beo te ruadh air taobh deas no tuath Loch-odha.' 'What shall we do should the red one be killed?' 'The red one shall not be dead while a red one is alive on the south or north side of Lochawe,' replied Achnambreac. So, according to one version, to guard against accidents the child was placed under an overturned cauldron, and left there till the conflict was over. Another version says that the Campbells sent forward the child with all possible speed in charge of her nurses and six chosen men, while they made up a sheaf of corn to resemble the child. When the Campbells faced about to fight the Calders, they placed the imitation child in their rear, guarding it with seeming care. Probably the fictitious child was placed beneath the camp cauldron while the real child was sent forward beyond pursuit.

The battle between the Campbells and the Calders was stubborn and deadly. After many men had fallen on both sides, the Campbells suddenly withdrew from the conflict, leaving their dead and the imitation child to the care of the Calders. They made a rapid march of many miles and

of many hours, and overtook their chosen men with the real child.

During the heat of the battle, when his kinsmen were falling around him—including, according to Shaw, the historian of Moray, six or eight of his own sons—Campbell of Inverliver called out in an agony of despair, 'Is fad an glaodh bho Loch-odha, is fad an cobhair bho Chlann Duibhne.' 'Far is the cry from Lochawe, and far is aid from the Children of Duibhne,' and Clann Duibhne—the children of Duibhne being the patronymic of the Clan Campbell. This cry of despair has passed into a proverb, indicative of immediate distress and of distant relief. For this service, the Earl of Argyll granted to his brother lands in Craignish as well as those of Inverliver on Lochawe.

Muireal Calder was well nurtured and carefully trained at Inveraray, and at the early age of sixteen years, or thereby, she was married, according to some accounts, to the second son of the second Earl of Argyll, and, according to other accounts, to the second son of Campbell of Inverliver, who was himself the second son of the previous earl; and thus the heiress and the estates of the Calders passed over to the Campbells.

On the 24th of May 1530, Fearchar Maclachlan was made Bishop of the Isles and Commendator of Icolumkille. Bishop Maclachlan complained that Macdougall of Lorne was not paying the dues of the Church, and in consideration of moneys, favours, and kindness received, he, in 1532, transferred the Church lands of Muckairn from Macdougall of Lorne to Campbell of Calder. In 1533 this transfer was approved and confirmed by Sylvester Darius, the Legate of Pope Clement VII. These Church lands of Muckairn extended along the side of Loch Etive from the river Lusragan on the west to the river Neannd (now spelled Nant), and possibly to the river Awe on the east, a distance of some eight or ten miles, and some six or eight miles inland.

The lands of Muckairn are very valuable, being well watered, well wooded, and well sheltered, and good for

grazing and agrestic or agricultural purposes. The Church had been a kindly mother and Macdougall an indulgent father to the occupiers of these lands, who now rose in rebellion against being transferred from the Macdougalls to the Campbells. These occupiers comprised various septs of MacDougalls, MacCalmans, MacCallums, MacIlleonais (Downies), MacIntyres, Sinclairs, and others. These numerous tribes formed a powerful body in the aggregate.

Campbell of Calder nominally, Campbell of Inverliver practically, came over the intervening hills with a large force of followers. The aggressors and aggrieved met in Muckairn at a place called Daileag. Daileag is finely situated, and was an ideal place for a field of battle, where bravery of heart, dexterity of hand, and strength of arm decided the day, before the introduction of matchlocks or mausers. Daileag is a green, grassy plain, a few acres in extent. This level plain is skirted on the east by a small mountain stream, called Allt na h-airde, that is, the Burn of the Height, and surrounded by an irregular circle of knolls and hummocks of glacial drift. The most prominent of these knolls lie to the south of the plain, and the most pointed of the knolls forms the end of the broken chain to the west. This hillock is indifferently called 'Torr a phiobaire,' the mound of the piper, and 'Tom a phiobaire,' the knoll of the piper. During the conflict between the tribes and the Campbells, the pipers stood upon this little knoll and played their loudest and fiercest, inciting the combatants below to battle.

The contending forces were strong and persistent, and the conflict was long and destructive. Ultimately the Campbells gained against the Muckairn tribes. There had been much slaughter on both sides. Those slain in the battle were buried in five large graves, forming a straight line from west to east across the field. Over the dead in these five graves five cairns of stones were raised. These sacred cairns, though now sunk in earth and moss-grown, are still touching. On the edge of the field in the wide

opening to the west there are two pillared stones within a few feet of one another. Here the two leaders of the opposing forces fell, as brave men, in mortal combat.

The worsted tribes were scattered, and the Campbells seized all the lands and all the lay and semi-lay offices of the Church in the district of Muckairn. One of the Campbells of Inverliver became baron-bailie of Muckairn, an office of supreme importance. Another became 'deor' to the church of St. Cyril in Muckairn—some say to the priory of St. Cattan or Ardchattan as well.

The Church was not only the spiritual mother of her people, but also their temporal mother, looking after them, rich and poor alike. When people were poor, it was to the Church they looked for support and help in their distress, and when people travelled, it was to the Church they looked for entertainment and hospitality. The man who was entrusted with the duty of providing for the poor, and of entertaining the guests, was called 'deor'—almoner. The 'deor' was chancellor as well as almoner of the church or cathedral, priory or abbey, of his jurisdiction, levying and securing the tithes in their seasons, and therefore a man of power and influence.

The church of St. Cyril was called upon to minister and administer, not only to a large population of its own, but also to two great streams of pilgrims yearly—the one going east, and the other going west. The westward stream made for Iona—the Mecca of the west; while the eastward stream made for the pool of St. Fillan, as to another Siloam; or to the court of the Scottish king, to the shrine of St. James at Compostello in Spain, to the shrine of St. Peter at Rome, or to the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. It will thus be obvious that the office of 'deor' to the holy church of St. Cyril at Muckairn was one of much importance, and that the remuneration must have been correspondingly good.

John Campbell, son of Campbell of Calder, commendator of the Priory of Ardchattan, was, in 1558, elected Bishop

of the Isles and Prior of Ardchattan. Bishop Keith complained, probably with reason, that John Campbell depleted the most part of the benefice in favour of his own relations, and that he conveyed some heritable jurisdictions to his own family. And thus the work of depletion begun by Bishop Fearchar Maclachlan was continued and completed by Bishop John Campbell.[1]

This last dispossessed 'deor' of the church of St. Cyril of Muckairn was a Colquhoun of the family of Luss. It is more than probable that his family were appointed 'deors' during the episcopate of Bishop Colquhoun, which began in 1473, the Bishop himself being of the Colquhouns of Luss.

I do not know the baptismal name of the Inverliver Campbell appointed to the 'deor'-ship of the church of St. Cyril. He is simply spoken of as 'An Deora Caimbeul' —Campbell the Almoner; 'An Deora mor Caimbeul'—the big Campbell, the almoner. He is said to have been a great, powerful man. He lived at Bail-an-Deoir, that is, the townland of the almoner. This was the hereditary residence of the almoner of Muckairn. Bail-an-deoir is a well-known place in the district, and is still occupied as a farm. The house was variously called Taigh 'Bhail-an-deor,' the house of the townland of the almoner, 'Taigh-an-deoir,' the house of the almoner, 'Taigh-a-Chnoic' the house on the knoll, 'an Taigh mor,' the big house, and 'an Taigh dubh,' the black house. The house of the almoner stood upon a ridge of rock facing the south-east. The position was nearly in conformity with that desired in the old Gaelic rhyme:—

Mo bhothan beag fein
'S a shuil 's a ghrein,
Is teampull Dhe
'S a cheann 's an ear

[1] From this Campbell were descended the Campbells of Ardchattan and the Campbells of Inbhir-easragain. Margaret Campbell, daughter of James Campbell of Inbhir-easragain, became the wife of John Macaulay, minister of Lismore, and thus the mother of Zachary Macaulay, the father of Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay.

Mine own little bothy
With its eye in the sun,
And the temple of God
With its head in the east.

The situation of the house of the 'deor' of Muckairn is singularly grand, filling the eye and the heart of the poet and the painter with inexpressible joy and admiration. To the left are the Loch Etive mountains, and in front are the Lochawe mountains, while between these is Cruachan-beann (the true meaning of which is the mount of the peaks), assuredly the monarch of them all. Scenery undoubtedly affects the mind, and mental, as well as physical, qualities may be transmitted. Who can say how much John Macdonald, Duncan Macintyre, John Ruskin, and Robert Burns owed through their ancestry to the glorious scenery of Muckairn, and to the noble beauty of the Land of Lorne.

The house of Taigh-an-Deoir was occupied till lately. Since it was vacated, the walls and roof have fallen in.

Behind the rocky ridge upon which the house of the 'deor' stood, the ground rapidly slopes down to a narrow gorge, and then as rapidly rises to a ridge on the opposite side. The river Luachragan, rising in the hills of Barra-goillean, runs through this narrow passage; in summer, mild as a mother's croon, in winter, wild as a mountain torrent. Less than a hundred yards up the stream, the high ground rapidly recedes, giving place to a wide, low-lying plain, through the centre of which the stream slowly moves. At the beginning of this recession is a small, rocky eminence, some five or six feet above the bed of the burn which curves round the base of the elevation. Upon this pretty and picturesque height stood once a house, with a garden behind it. The knoll upon which the house stood is now a green, grassy mound with no trace of a building above-ground. The remains of the fence which enclosed the garden, and of the trees and shrubs which followed the fence, can, however, still be seen. This was the house and

this was the garden of Walter Campbell, son of the 'deor' of Muckairn.

The house of Walter Campbell was called 'Taigh-an-uillt,' the house of the burn—burn house; while Walter Campbell himself was known as 'Ualtair Taigh-an-uillt,' Walter of the burn house, that is Walter Burnhouse, because the knoll upon which his house stood was skirted by the burn Luachragan. And here I may mention that the name Ualtair (Walter) is confined in the Highlands to Campbells or to immediate Campbell connections. From the fact that he was 'air taigh dha fhein' on a house of his own, I infer that Walter Campbell was married.

The poet was the highest official in the retinue of the Celtic kings and of the Celtic nobles. His house was a sanctuary, and a poet who ranked high in his profession sat on the right hand of the king or of the noble, and enjoyed many privileges above his fellows. But individuals and institutions become effete and offensive to good government when petted and pampered. It was so with the Celtic bards. They became presumptuous and arrogant and were deposed.

Seanchan was the name of the chief poet of the High King of Ireland in ancient times. The deposed bards took Seanchan as their patron and called themselves Cliar-Sheanchain, the poets of Seanchan—the disciples of Seanchan. Under this name they went about the country in bands, living wherever good cheer and good quarters could be obtained, praising and extolling those who entertained them, and dispraising and satirising those who declined. At first, these sons of song and satire went about in large bands, consuming all before them, and leaving burning pains behind them. Then a law was made that no greater number than sixteen could go about in any one band; and the number was afterwards reduced to eight, and latterly to four. No man was admitted into this brotherhood but one who had proved his power of song and satire to the satisfaction of the order. The Cliar Sheanchain had many

attractions. The brethren roamed about the country living upon the meat and the wine of the wealthy, enjoying a life of Bohemian pleasure. Apart from their sore exactions, these irresponsible firebrands became a menace to the peace of the community wherever they went, and they went everywhere.

The order originated in Ireland, but soon spread to Scotland. In the year 1574, the Parliament of Scotland made an Act against 'masterful' idle beggars and sorners and bards and rhymers and hymners roaming the country. They were to be put in the King's ward—in the King's irons, when they had anything of their own to live upon; when they had not, their ears were to be nailed to the tron, or weighing-post, or some other convenient tree, and then their ears were to be cut off, and they were to be banished the country; and if they came back again they were to be hanged.

But it was easier to pass Acts of Parliament than to enforce them, when there was no body to put them in execution. In the years 1600, 1616, 1629, and 1630, other Acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council were made to enforce previous Acts against these 'strong sturdy Irish bards and beggars sent from Ireland in several companies towards this kingdom, going through the country in troops; and not contenting themselves with the benevolence and charity of the people, which is freely offered them, they extort alms where they perceive they can be masters, and commit sundry insolences upon His Majesty's subjects, who are not able to withstand them. They are therefore ordered to depart forth the kingdom within fourteen days, and not to return under pain of death.' But although Acts were made, they could not well be carried out. It is not surprising therefore that occasionally the harassed and long-suffering people tried to redress their own wrongs, and in a drastic manner.

Satire is painful to all men and excruciating to the sensitive Celt. The Cliar Sheanchain went about the

country much as before, satirising and vituperating all who resisted their exactions. Their satires were barbaric and vitriolic; causing conflicts and bloodshed when bandied up and down the country by one sept against another sept, and by one clan against another clan.

There is one virtue which their critics allow to Highlanders—the virtue of hospitality. Highlanders of old carried this virtue to the excess of chivalry. According to the rules governing the order of the Cliar Sheanchain, they could remain in a house for a year and a day unless their satire was overcome by satire, and of this they were the sole judges.

The most recent and the most extreme case of the sornings and exactions of those strolling satirists, known to me, occurred at Nunton in Benbecula—the island residence of the Macdonalds of Clanranald. The Cliar Sheanchain came to Nunton sixteen men strong. Clanranald, as became a great chief and a noble Highlander, treated the strolling satirists with lavish hospitality; and of this generosity they availed themselves to the full. They ate and drank, slept and satirised and roamed at will. The year-and-a-day of their sorning was speeding on, and the forty-second mart of Clanranald's herd had been killed for their entertainment, when the sorely tried Clanranald came out of the house shoeless, bonnetless, raising his arms, and exclaiming in an agony of despair: 'O Iosa Criosda nan geur ghuin, agus a Mhoire Mhathair an dubh bhroin! am bheil duin' idir idir ann an Clann-radhail a thilleas air a ghraisg dhaoine seo!'—'Oh, Thou Jesu Christ of the sharp wounds, and thou, Mary Mother of the black sorrow! is there no one at all at all in Clanranald who can overcome these scurrilous kerns!' There was no reply. All the wits of all the islands had already measured swords with these keen blades only to be discomfited, and disarmed, and made the laughing-stock of the land. The only man who had not tried was Clanranald's fool, and he, being a fool, had not been asked. But the satirists attacked even the unoffend-

ing fool. The fool retorted, and so effectively that the scurrilous satirists fled the land.

The Cliar Sheanchain once came to a house in Islay and settled themselves down. They were sent to sleep in the barn. This was also the place where the fool of the family spent his nights trying to play the pipes. The man could play the first half of a tune, but beyond this he could not go; so he began again and again and yet again, and thus he spent his nights. The satirists could not sleep, and no amount of abuse would make the man stop playing his fragment of tune. The satirists were sorely tried and in the morning they left, shaking the dust of the place off their feet and blaspheming the place, the people, and the pipes in particular.

Piobaireachd is aran tur
Is miosa leum na guin a bhais:
Fhir a bhodhair mo dha chluais.
Na cuir piob a suas gu brath.

Piping and dry bread
Are worse to me than the pangs of death;
Thou man who has deaved my two ears,
Put thou thy pipes up never.

The Cliar Sheanchain came to Bailandeoir and settled themselves upon the 'deor' of Muckairn. I do not know how many were in this band, but judging by their fate, they could not have been many. They ate of his food and drank of his wine, and satirised his kith and kin and his clan. Walter Campbell, the son of the deor, fiercely retorted; but the satirists, of course, said that his retorts were inept and ineffective, and they continued their satires, searing him to the soul.

He said:—

Dh' itheadh sibh mo chuid
Is phronnadh sibh mo ghab.
Dh' oladh sibh m'fhion
Is spionadh sibh mo bhad.

You would eat my food,
And you would break my mouth,
You would drink my wine,
And you would pluck my beard.

Walter Campbell felled a tree in a place known since then as 'Glac-a-chlamhain,' the dell of the harrier, and 'Glac nan cliar,' the dell of the satirists. The dell scoops across a high ridge of glacial drift. It is narrow and confined on the south at the upper end, broadening on the north and expanding downwards to a wide plain. Walter Campbell asked the satirists to come out and help him to rend the tree, and they came. He placed half the satirists on one side of the tree, and the other half on the other side. He drove a wedge into the bole of the tree, and rent the bole along the line of the stem. Then he asked the men to place their hands in the rent, and to pull against one another, while he drove in the wedge. The men placed their hands as directed. Walter Campbell struck the wedge not in, but out, however, and the two sides of the rent tree sprang together like the sides of a steel trap, holding the hands of the satirists as securely as if in a strong vice. Walter Campbell, the son of the 'deor,' lost control of his pent-up anger, and he fell upon the satirists with great fury, and scourged them and maimed them, killing some and wounding others fatally. All acknowledged that—

Although the loons were weel away,
The deed was foully done.

The tragedy aroused unbounded sensation throughout the district and throughout the Highlands; for the unhappy men were of various tribes and clans. A code of honour existed among Highlanders, a code more rigid than brass—that a guest, however unwelcome, and however black his crime, was safe from injury for a year and a day. It was felt that Campbell had broken this law of hospitality, as well as the laws of the Church; and a huge wave of resentment arose against him. Less than the crime of which

he had been guilty would have incited indignation against Walter Campbell in Muckairn ; for the Muckairn Campbells were more feared than loved in the district, more respected for their ability than for their actions. Walter Campbell fled the land. From sources to be mentioned later, I learn that he was accompanied by his son, also called Walter, a youth of a few years old. Father and son fared eastward, travelling through the lands of kinsmen and clansmen. They crossed the river Awe at Leac an t-Suimir, where Macdougall of Lorne and his people had crossed, followed by Bruce and his army.[1]

The unhappy father and son travelled up Leitir Cruachan, and fording Lochawe at the junction of the Strae and the Orchy, passed the night in the castle of Caol-a-chuirn, which had been wrested from the Macgregors of Glenstrae by another sept of the Campbells—those of Glenorchy. From Caol-a-chuirn Walter Campbell and his boy travelled up Glenorchy through kinsmen and clansmen, and down Glenlyon to Fionlarig, and along the side of Lochtay to Bealach-nan-laogh, Pass of the Calves (Taymouth), on and on eastward to the Mearns of Ceann-a-chardain, Kincardine. I heard, but do not now recall, why Walter Campbell went to Kincardine. In the Mearns, *i.e.* Kincardine, Walter Campbell found people of the names of Burness, singularly like his own familiar cognomen of Burn-house at home in Muckairn ; and as a slight disguise, he called himself by this designation of Burnhouse, dropping his clan name of Campbell. It was an easy transition from Walter Burnhouse to Walter Burness, Burnus, Burnes, Burns.

Walter Campbell, now Walter Burnhouse, leased the small farm of Bogjorgan in the Mearns. He lived a life of penury and died a death of indigence comparatively soon after

[1] Barbour mentions that Macdougall tried to destroy the bridge by which he and his people had crossed, but that Bruce followed him so hard that he failed to effect this. Sir Walter Scott is surprised at there being a bridge. There was a bridge of rafters across the river Awe here, and this is still spoken of in the traditions of the district. Even the name of the place also indicates this, 'Leac an t-suimir,' flagstone of the rafters, from 'leac,' a flat rock, a flagstone, and 'suimir,' rafter.

settling in Mearns. The old people of Muckairn told me that Walter Campbell had visited his relations in Lorne, and that his relations in Lorne had visited him in Kincardine. This may have been Walter the son—not Walter the father. Burns himself may have known of his Lorne connections; but if his relatives had disowned his progenitor, as there is reason to think that they did, Burns was not the man to proclaim his relationship to two earls and a duke. His relative, Dr. James Burnes, the learned educationist of India, on being made a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic order, had to produce his pedigree and to register his arms. He published a pamphlet giving the result of his researches. He begun his pedigree with a certain Walter Campbell of Burnhouse in Argyll, who had fled to the north country in the seventeenth century, assuming the name of 'Burnhouse.' He stated that he did so on the authority of his relative John Burness of Stonehaven, the author of *Thrummy Cap*, and also on the authority of the 'Rev. Alex. Greig, Episcopal minister, Stonehaven, who was born in 1707, and died in 1793, and who was well versed in the records of the family, his mother having been a Burness and a grand-daughter of the said Walter Campbell.' Mr. Greig said that 'Walter Campbell had been the proprietor of a small domain called Burnhouse in Argyllshire, but that he had taken part with James II. at the Revolution, and incurred the displeasure of his chief, and had to flee, taking with him his only son Walter, then a boy; that he dropped the name of Campbell, and became known by that of Burness, probably a corruption of Burnhouse, the place of his birth, and that he settled in the parish of Glenbervie.'

James Taylor (aged eighty-seven), Drumlithie, said 'that his grandmother had been a Burness, and he had heard that the original name of the family had been Campbell, but that it had been changed in consequence of a duel. Mary Burness, an old woman in Stonehaven, and a near relative of Dr. Burness, also said the family had been

Campbells. Dr. Burness gave these details to the Heralds College, and registered arms embodying the Campbell arms. Then he went back to India, and on his return he set to work to disprove all he had already written, and wrote another pamphlet to prove that Burnes or Burns was an English name, and that the family were descended from a certain King of Mercia of the eleventh century. His own relations ridiculed and disowned this absurd attempt.

In the *Scots Magazine* of 1889-90, there is an article on the Land of Burns from Mr. Crabbe Watt, K.C., which shows great research. In it he quotes from Dr. Burnes as to the Campbell origin of the family, and says that Dr. Burnes's own investigations in the churchyard of Glenbervie to some extent confirm it. He considers Dr. Burnes's first attempt at a pedigree to have been the more correct, and says that Walter Campbell of Burnhouse is recognised by the Heralds College and by Scottish antiquaries as the root of the family. Mr. Crabbe Watt says that Walter Campbell settled in Glenbervie as a small leaseholder; that his son Walter, who as a boy had accompanied his father from Argyllshire, learnt the trade of shoemaking in Aberdeen. After a time he returned to Kincardine, married and took the farm of Bogjorgan. He had four sons: William, John, James, and Robert. James, the third son, was born in 1656. He became tenant of the farm of Bralinmuir, and his son William was the great-grandfather of the poet.

Chambers in his *Life of Burns* fixes upon the weak point in the traditions given by Dr. James Burnes. He says: 'The story requires some correction in point of date, for it is inadmissible that the grandfather of a man born in 1656, which was the case of James Burness of Bralinmuir, could be liable, after the Revolution, to change his residence on account of his political principles. It is, however, not impossible that in the course of transmission from mouth to mouth, the tradition suffered to this extent, and that the time of the Civil War was actually referred to.' 'On the other hand,' says Dr. Chambers, 'it is certain that, however

Walter Burness acquired *his* name, it was one that did not take its *rise* in that manner, for it occurs in public documents of the age of Bruce. What is more to the purpose, the name of James Burnes, servitor to Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, Knight Baronet, appears as a witness to a deposition granted in 1637 by the Earl of Traquair, Treasurer of Scotland, in the name of the Scottish Exchequer. Thornton is situated within ten miles of Bogjorgan and Bralinmuir. Our finding a Burness in the district in 1637 certainly reduces the likelihood of the family being Argyllshire refugees of the time of the Civil War. It must at the same time be admitted as not impossible that the supposed Walter Campbell might be the more ready to adopt his territorial appellation as a surname in consequence of finding men of that name already in the country.'

This was undoubtedly one reason why Walter Campbell retained his designation of Burnhouse and dropped his clan name of Campbell. The fact that such clear and similar traditions existed in two districts which have so little communication as Muckairn and Glenbervie, appears to be a strong piece of evidence in favour of the descent of the poet Robert Burns from Walter Campbell, the fugitive son of the 'Deor' of Muckairn.

The first Duke of Argyll and Greenwich was the ablest man of his time. It was of him that Pope said :—

> The great Argyll whose powers are known to wield
> And shake alike the senate and the field.

He was as patriotic as he was great, and stood up for his country and his people when their liberties were threatened. It was he who commanded the Hanoverian army at the battle of Sheriffmuir, when the curious and suggestive sight was seen of the Highlanders of the two opposing armies cutting down and defeating all before them. The Duke of Argyll was commander-in-chief of the British army. He was quietly relieved of this, however, because of the patriotic stand he made against the insults offered to

Scotland on account of the Porteous Riot. When the arrogant Queen Caroline said that she was going to reduce Edinburgh to ashes and Scotland to a hunting-ground, the Duke said: 'Then, Your Majesty, it is time for me to go home and prepare my hounds.' 'What do you mean by that?' angrily demanded the Queen. 'Oh, Your Majesty, that I may be ready for the chase when it comes.' It was probably in consequence of this that the Duke, notwithstanding he had been opposed to him, was in secret correspondence with the exiled king, James VIII., the father of Prince Charlie. Horace Walpole, in his letters of 30th June 1742, to Sir Horace Mann, mentions the curious fact that in this correspondence the Duke signed himself 'Burnus.' Probably the Duke could have been aware of the name which his relative, Walter Campbell, had adopted in Kincardine.

The mother of Robert Burns was Agnes Brown. Her mother again was a Davidson—Nic Dha'aidh of the Clan Chattan. Agnes Brown may have been Celtic on her father's side, and she was certainly Celtic on her mother's. By both parents therefore Robert Burns was essentially Highland.

There is a cairn in Glac-a-chlamhain on the spot where Walter Campbell maltreated the satirists, but the man who showed me the dell forgot to show me the cairn, and before I went back to the district he had died. I tried, unsuccessfully, to find the cairn, as the dell is closely wooded, chiefly with scrub, and I could find no one else who knew the cairn or who cared. A wonderful change has come over the inhabitants of this and most other districts of the Highlands within recent years. For good or ill the people now spend their time in reading newspapers and in discussing foreign affairs. Their fathers spent the evenings in rehearsing the tales of other times, and in relating the traditions of their districts, which they did with accuracy and intelligence. The old people of Muckairn had many traditions regarding the doings and sayings of the Camp-

bells of Calder, and of the Campbells of Inverliver. None of these Campbells are in Muckairn now. The immediate family of the 'deor' scattered after the tragedy of Glac-a-Chlamhain, some going down Lochfaochan way, and some going across Lochfyne way and over to Cowal. It is even possible that there was relationship between Burns and Highland Mary. Mr. Charles Macdonald, Barracheanndoir, says that the last of the Campbells of Inverliver who left Muckairn were tall, sinewy, black-haired people, and so singularly like the portraits of Burns that they and Burns might have been brothers. They were highly endowed, and yet somehow things never seemed to thrive with them.

Walter Campbell himself was a poet, and many of his songs used to be sung in Muckairn till the old people were removed to make room for the sheep-breeding strangers. Speaking of the descent of Burns from Walter Campbell, one aged informant said: 'Bu dual do Bhurns bardachd a bhi ann—Bu mhath am bard bho'n do shiolaich e.' 'Bardism was natural in Burns—good was the bard from whom he was descended.'

The following verses by Walter Campbell describe the salient features of Glenlonan. They are as true to nature as they are to music and to rhythm:—

Clacha dubh
An aghaidh sruth
Am bun a bhruth-
-aich bhoidheich.

Barra-goille
An oir na coille
Am moch an goir
Na smeoraich.

Barra-glas
A bhruthaich chas
'S e laiste leis
Na neoinein.

'S Duntannachan
Nan samhnachan
Far nach gann
An lon-dubh.

Bail-an-deoir
An uchd na treoir
An ceo-achadh
Mhuc-arna.

Agus Luachragan
Nan cluanagan
A tuathachadh
Gu sala.

English :—

Clacha dubh
Against the stream
At the foot of the brae
So beauteous.

Barra-goill
On the edge of the copse
Where early sings
The mavis.

Barra-glas
On the steep brae,
And it aflame
With daisies.

And Duntannachan
Of the lusty trout,
Where plenty are
The blackbirds.

Bail-an-deoir
In the lap of the strong,
In the mistiness
Of Muckairn.

And Luachragan
Of the little meadows
A-northing to
The sea.

The verses, said to have been composed by Walter Campbell when leaving Muckairn, are very tender and

beautiful, and such as may well have been composed by one in his unhappy condition :—

Soiridh le Lonan nan gleann,
Is leis an Neannd is glaine sruth,
Soiridh dha'n Mhuic is dha h-al[1]
Mo chreach leir, mo chradh an diugh!

Soiridh le Cruachan nam beann,
Is tric a sheall mi ort gu moch,
Soiridh le Atha nan ath,
Is lionar bradan tarra-gheal ort.

Soiridh dha'm chomhalta chaomh,
Is ioma caochladh thig air sruth,
Thig caochladh air gach ni 's an t-saoghal,
Ach cha chaochail mo ghaol-sa dhut.

English :—

Farewell to thee, Lonan of the glens,
And to thee, Nant, purest of streams,
Farewell to thee, Muckairn, and to thy people:
Alas, my grief! mine agony this day!

Farewell to thee, Cruachan of the peaks,
Oft I gazed on thee at early morn;
Farewell to thee, Awe of the fords,
Many the white-bellied salmon dwelling in thee.

Farewell to thee, co-fosterer of my love—
Many are the changes that come upon a stream;
Change shall come on all things in the world,
But change shall my love for thee never.

One cannot fail to see the strong family resemblance between these fragments and passages in the poems of Robert Burns. To me the poetic affinity is striking and touching.

[1] A play on the name Muckairn, lit. :—

Farewell to the Sow and her progeny.

ARGYLLSHIRE CLANS

Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair

The Maclachlans

The Maclachlans are descended from Gilchrist, a prominent Highlander who lived in Cowall about the year 1250. He knew nothing about railroads, telegraphs, and flying-machines, but he had perhaps as much good sense in his head as the people of the present day. He married probably a daughter of Gillespic Campbell of Lochow, and had two sons, Gillespic and Patrick. Gillespic appears on record in 1274, 1292, 1296, and 1314. He received, in 1274, from King Alexander III., a charter of Strath, Kilbride, Achnambreck, Glenfinnart, and other lands. In 1314 he made a grant of twenty shillings yearly to the preaching friars of Glasgow.

Patrick, second son of Gilchrist, and successor of Gillespic, married Aiteag or Atega, daughter of Lachlan MacRory, and had by her Lachlan Mor, the progenitor of the Maclachlans. As the strath was a part of Lachlan's estate, and the part of it in which he lived, it came to be known as Strathlachlan. Atega, the name of Lachlan's mother, means a cheerful and pleasant girl, and is quite a pretty name.

Lachlan Mor married a daughter of Donald Mac Erick Mac Kennedy, Lord of Carrick, and had by her Patrick, his successor. Patrick married Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord of Cowall, and had by her Lachlan Og, his heir. Lachlan Og married Agnes, daughter of John Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, and had by her John, his successor. John married Catherine, daughter of Duncan Mac Lamond, and had by her Kenneth, Patrick, and Gillespic. Donald, chief of the Maclachlans in 1456, seems to have died without legitimate male issue. John, son of Gillespic, son of John,

son of Lachlan Og, succeeded Donald. Gillespic, son and heir of John, appears on record in 1511. He was succeeded by his son Lachlan, who was succeeded by his son Gillespic, who was succeeded by his son Lachlan, who was succeeded by his son Gillespic, who was succeeded by his son Lachlan Og. Gillespic, son of Lachlan Og, was served heir to his father in 1663. Lachlan, son and successor of Gillespic, fought under the Earl of Mar at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. It is said that he was murdered by Campbell of Ardkinglass in 1719 for having fought in behalf of the Stewarts. He left two sons, Lachlan Og and Robert. Lachlan Og succeeded his father. At the battle of Culloden the Maclachlans and the Macleans formed a small regiment of about seven hundred men. Lachlan Og, who was chief of his clan, was colonel; Maclean of Drimnin, who was chieftain of a branch of the Macleans, was lieutenant-colonel. They were both killed. Lachlan Og was succeeded by his son Robert. Donald, son of Robert, was laird of Strathlachlan in 1815.

Of all the Maclachlans the most eminent was Ewen Maclachlan of Aberdeen. He was a scholar and a poet. His poems on the seasons were composed when he was quite young, and are of very little value. The other poems written by him are excellent. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Maclauchlan was also a prominent and worthy member of the Clan Lachlan. He did good work in the interest of Gaelic and Gaelic literature. I heard him preach in Edinburgh, 5th September 1869, and was delighted with his Gaelic and with his sermon. I called to see him on the following Monday, and was glad to have an opportunity of shaking hands with a man who took such a deep interest in the language and literature of the Highlanders as he did.

The Macnaughtons

Nectan, the progenitor of the MacNectans or MacNaughtons, was born about the year 1100. He was the

father of Donald, father of Gilchrist, father of Ferchar, father of Gilchrist and Gilbert. Donald, son of Gilchrist, fought against Robert Bruce at the battle of Dalree in 1306. He was probably connected by marriage with M'Dougall of Lorn, who was a bitter enemy of Bruce. Duncan, son of Donald, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who died without issue about 1360. Gilbert, brother of Gilchrist, was succeeded by his son Malcolm. Maurice, son of Malcolm, was evidently a supporter of Robert Bruce. He received a charter of certain lands from Colin Campbell, of Lochow. Malcolm, son of Maurice, was succeeded by his son Maurice, who was chief of the Clan Nectan, or Naughton, in 1390.

Sir Alexander, chief of the MacNaughtons, was slain at the battle of Flodden in 1513. He was succeeded by his son John, who was succeeded by his son Malcolm of Glenshira. Malcolm had two sons, Alexander and John. Alexander was knighted by Charles II. John, his brother, had a small estate in Kintyre. Sir Alexander was succeeded by John, his son, as chief of the Clan Naughton. John fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, 27th July 1689. He got deeply into debt. He had two sons, Alexander and John. Alexander was a captain in Queen Anne's guards, and was killed in 1702. John was Collector of Customs at Anstruther, in Fife. On the 24th of August 1710, Sir James Campbell, of Ardkinglass, obtained possession of all his lands. The year of John's death I do not know. He was the last MacNaughton chief that lived in Scotland.

John Dubh, grandson of the Alexander who fell at Flodden in 1513, went to Ireland 1850, and settled there. His lineal representative, Sir Francis W. MacNaughton, was created a baronet in 1836. Sir Francis was married and had Sir Edmund, Sir William, and other sons. Sir William was assassinated at Cabul, 25th December 1841. Sir Edmund was born in 1790. He was married and had five sons. Sir Francis, his eldest son, was born in London in 1828. At a meeting of the Clan Naughton held in

Edinburgh in 1878 Sir Francis was acknowledged Chief of the Clan. He married a daughter of Sir William Howard Russell, the famous war correspondent. He had an estate in Ireland of eight thousand three hundred acres. He died July 20, 1911, in his home at Bushmills in Antrim. The descendants of Nectan have a perfect right to call themselves MacNaughtons. I question, however, if MacNaughton has the same royal ring about it that MacNectan has. There was a King Nectan in Scotland, but there was no King Naughton.

The Maceacherns

The genealogy of the Maceacherns, as given in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, is as follows :—'Andrew, son of Colin, son of Macrath, son of Gilchrist, son of Macrath, son of Marceartach, son of Cormac, son of Seth, son of Ferchar, son of Finlay, son of Nichol, son of Maine, son of Murdoch, son of Ectigern, who was called In Gamor.'

It is certain that In Gamor is an incorrect reading. It might stand for An gainnear, the archer. It is probable, however, that what it does stand for is An ceannair, the driver. Ectigern, now Eacharn or each-thighearna, means horse-lord or horse-manager. Ectigern, being a horse-controller, would also be a horse-driver. He may, indeed, have been a furious driver—a thorough Highland Jehu.

Macrath, son of Ectigern, had three sons, Gilchrist, Dugall, and Ranald. Gilchrist succeeded his father in Kintyre, and was succeeded by his son Macrath, who was succeeded by his son Colin. Andrew, son of Colin, was Chief of the Maceacherns in 1385. Colin of Kilellan, a descendant of Andrew, was Chief in 1493.

The MacCouls of Craignish

In the *House of Argyll and the Collateral Branches of the Clan Campbell*, we are told that the MacCouls of Craig-

nish are descended from Dugall Campbell, third son of Gillespic Campbell of Lochow. This statement is groundless, and contrary to known historic facts. MacCoul is a shortened form of Mac Dhughaill or Macdougall. MacCoul of Craignish means simply Macdougall of Craignish. There were two clan Dougalls in Scotland, the Macdougalls of Lorn, who were descended from Dugall, son of Somerled of the Isles, and the Macdougalls or MacCouls of Craignish, who were descended from Dugall, son of Macrath. MacCoul is simply a contracted form of Macdougall. Both names are the same in Gaelic—Mac Dhughaill.

Dugall, second son of Macrath, son of Ectigern, was the progenitor of the Macdougalls or MacCouls of Craignish. Dugall Og, son of Dugall, son of Dugall, son of the first Dugall, died in 1350. He left two daughters, Christina and Effreta.

Ranald, third son of Macrath, son of Ectigern, was born about 1250 and witnessed a charter in 1270. He possessed lands in Nether Craignish. He was succeeded by his son Malcolm, who was succeeded by his son Malcolm Og. Ranald Mor, son of Malcolm Og, was born about 1390. He changed his name to Campbell, and was in high favour with the lords of Lochow. In 1412 he obtained from Sir Colin of Lochow a charter of the lands of Corvorran, Barrichibean and others. He was succeeded by his son Malcolm. Ranald Og, son of Malcolm, was drowned in Loch Fyne in 1447. He left two sons, John Gorm and Malcolm.

The MacCouls of Barrichibean

John Gorm, son of Ranald Og, was infeft in Corvorran and other lands in 1448. He had two sons Gillespic and Donald. Gillespic succeeded him.

Donald, second son of John Gorm, married Effreta Mac Igheill, and obtained the lands of Barrichibean with her in 1481. John, their son, was infeft in Barrichibean in

1492. Ranald, son of John, son of Donald, son of John, son of Donald, son of John, succeeded to the estate of Barrichibean in 1592. He was a man of ability and good sense. He was succeeded by John, his second son, who was infeft in 1623. Donald, son of John, had eight children : George, Alexander, Donald, Archibald, Catherine, Alice, Mary, and Ann. Catherine was married to John Maclean of Carsaig, or Tarbert, and had Donald of Torloisk ; Alice was married to Archibald Campbell of Sunderland, and had Mary. Donald of Torloisk married Mary, and had General Allan Maclean and others. General Allan was a prominent and useful man in Canada in 1775.

The MacCallums of Poltalloch

Malcolm, second son of Ranald Og, was born about 1480. He was the progenitor of the MacCallums of Poltalloch. He had a son named Archibald and possibly a son named Donald. Archibald was succeeded by his son Donald, who was infeft in Poltalloch in 1562. Donald had two sons, Archibald and John. Archibald succeeded him in Poltalloch ; John, who was born about 1680, was ordained to the ministry in 1609 and settled over the parish of Knapdale. Archibald, son of John, was born in 1605. He was ordained to the ministry in 1639 and settled in Glassary. He was served heir in 1642 to his first cousin, Donald of Poltalloch, son of Archibald. He had two sons, Zachary and Donald. He died in 1685. Zachary was noted for his great strength and for his skill as a swordsman. In the traditions of the Highlands he is by far the most famous of all the MacCallums. He succeeded his father in Poltalloch. He died in 1692, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, who sold Poltalloch to his uncle Donald. In 1715 we find Donald described as Donald MacCallum of Poltalloch. Archibald, his son and heir, is at the same time described as Archibald MacCallum, younger of Poltalloch.

The Macivers

Iver, the progenitor of the Macivers, was born probably about the year 1110. Macbeth, son of Iver, was judge of Gourie and sheriff of Scone. Donald, son of Macbeth, witnessed a grant by the Earl of Atholl in 1219. Iver Crom, son of Donald, received the lands of Lergachonie and others from King Alexander, about 1221. Malcolm, probably a grandson of Iver, was in possession of Lergachonie in 1292. Iver Maciver, a son or grandson of Malcolm, was chief of the Macivers in 1361. He married Christina, daughter and co-heiress of MacCoull of Craignish.

In 1685 Iver Maciver of Asknish was forfeited for having supported the Earl of Argyll in his rebellion. After the revolution of 1688, Archibald, tenth Earl of Argyll, gave the estates which had belonged to Iver to his son, Duncan; but imposed as a condition that Duncan and his heirs should bear the surname and arms of Campbell.

Some Macivers settled in Lochaber at an early period, and in course of time made Campbells of themselves. A large number of Macivers settled in Caithness, about 1680. They all changed their name to Campbell. Thomas Campbell, the famous poet, was not a Campbell at all: he was a Maciver. The Macivers who settled in Lewis remained Macivers. They had no wish to be classed among those who are 'given to change.'

Principal Campbell of Aberdeen, author of the *Dissertation on Miracles*, was a Maciver, and published an excellent history of the Clan Iver. The work is now out of print. A new edition of it with such notes and additions as are required ought to command a ready sale.

NOTE ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN GAELIC FOLK-TALES

KENNETH MACLEOD

IN the Gaelic folk-tales we meet continually with these three musical instruments, the harp (*clarsach*), the fiddle (*fidheall*), and the *cruit*; occasionally with the organ and the bagpipes, and once or twice with the 'trump' or Jew's harp.

The *cruit* is an indefinite sort of word. Sometimes it undoubtedly means a harp. For instance, in the tale of the 'Slim Swarthy Champion,' [1] *cruit* and *clarsach*, *cruitear* and *clarsair*, are used as interchangeable terms. In other cases a distinction seems to be made.

> Sheinneadh i a' chruit 's a' chlar.
>
> She could play the *cruit* [fiddle ?] and the harp.[2]

Probably *cruit* was used as a general term for a musical instrument, especially a stringed instrument.

The harp, if we take it as representing the *clarsach* always and the *cruit* sometimes, is by far the most popular instrument in the folk-tales. This is how it came to our Gaelic Isles:—

One night, after a day of storm from the west, a young lad was shore-roving in search of flotsam, and what picked he up but a harp, though he knew not what it was. By accident he touched the strings, and if he did—O sweet Virgin, such beautiful sounds as the queer thing gave forth! On this the lad ceased his shore-roving, and went straight home with the harp, but he could not sleep all that night for thinking of the musical treasure he had found. But though *mo ghaolan beag*, my little darling, had the love of music in his heart, he had not at all the skill of music in his fingers; and, sure, did not this put him to such sorrow that he began to pine

[1] *West Highland Tales*, i. 297 (1890 edition: Alexander Gardner).
[2] *Celtic Review*, iv. 350.

away, until it seemed likely he would find death long before he found the skill of music. At last his mother went to a namely *dubh-sgoilear*, doctor of the Black Art, and besought him, either to give her boy the skill of music, or else to quench his longing for it. 'What wilt thou give me, if I do either the one or the other?' asked the *dubh-sgoilear*. 'I will brim thy desire,' said the woman, 'if body or soul can do it.' 'Give me thy soul,' said the *dubh-sgoilear*, 'and I will put the skill of music into thy boy; or give me thy body, and I will quench his longing for it.' 'My soul to thee here and now,' said the woman, 'and the skill of music for my boy.' The agreement was made, and the price paid. The lad became the most namely harper there has ever been in Gaeldom, and the mother went in due time to the Bad Place, where she still sings the *Bron-anma*, the soul-agony:[1]—

The sting, the death—the sting, the death,
I return no more—I return no more.
Lost to me, God in the heavens,
Lost to me, child of my heart.

And the old folks used to say that though the young harper could, in the day-time, entice, by the gladness of his music, the eagle from the dove, the hawk from the wren, and the fox from the lamb, yet as soon as night came the soul-agony of his lost mother began to throb and to sob in his music.[2]

Despite the uncanniness of the legend, or perhaps because of it, the harp became the favourite instrument, not only of the Isles, but of all Gaeldom. We read of kings and chiefs having a retinue of harpers, and even of great heroes being as well versed in harping as in fighting and athletics. Thus the Slim Swarthy Champion 'could move as a furious winter wind, so swiftly, deftly, cheerily, right haughtily,' and 'could give a cheery light leap o'er top and turret of court and city,' and yet, as the tale puts it, 'Och! he was the lad behind a harp.' And in proof of his skill, he music-lulls the twelve harpers of O'Donall into sleep so sound that only a charm could waken them.

[1] For air, see Introduction to *Songs of the Hebrides*.
[2] Often heard by the writer in the island of Eigg.

Equally expert at the harp was the hero *Dearg*,[1] so often confused in the folk-tales with *Diarmad* of the Fayne.

> Dearg, son of Olla, of the guiding heart,
> Who so softly could play the harp,
> Who so softly could play the harp,
> Blood-fury left on him stain nor mark,
> Though low-laid by the boar at last.

The professional harper was, of course, highly esteemed in the folklore days; priestlike, his person was regarded as sacred. 'What shall we do with this man?' is asked in an old tale which the writer has heard, and the answer is:—

> Ma's bard, fo'n ùir, fo'n ùir,
> Ma's clarsair, do'n dùn, do'n dùn.
>
> If bard, under ground, under ground (with him),
> If harper, to the castle, to the castle.

The bard, of course, usually had a wicked tongue, and was always as much feared as loved, but the harper's music was never known to say nasty things, or to praise one's enemy. In one well-known tale, however (the 'Knight of the Red Shield'),[2] the hero actually ventures to kill a treacherous harper, but it is added, 'He was henceforth under spells that he should never kill a harper, except with his own harp.' The harp itself was really regarded as more or less sacred; it might be used, indeed, to kill the harper, but it was unsafe to abuse it in any other way. Thus, while it was unlucky enough for the player himself to break his harp-string, it was supposed to be doubly unlucky for anybody else to do so, even accidentally. It is strange, too, how a superstition, even after its object has passed away, is transferred to something else resembling the original object, or used for the same purpose. At cottage dances in the Hebrides, a very primitive wind instrument is sometimes used, namely, an ordinary hair-comb, wrapped in thin paper. Curiously enough, it is

[1] *West Highland Tales*, iii. 60; *Songs of Hebrides*, 112.
[2] *West Highland Tales*, iii. 451; *Celtic Review*, iii.

supposed to be most unlucky to break a tooth of this musical comb. 'Nach cuala sibh riamh mar thuirt an seanfhacal: "Is mairg a bhristeadh teud cruite?"' 'Hast thou never heard what the proverb says: "Woe unto such as break a harp-string"?'

In the lore of the Isles three different kinds, or rather sizes, of harp are mentioned: clar-uidhe, clar-tighe, clar-dùin—journey-harp, house-harp, castle-harp. The writer has often tried to get the folk-ideas as to the respective sizes of these three harps, but as the instrument is now unknown in Gaeldom, he has been unable to glean any information likely to be of value. One description, however, is worth giving, as it seems to be in the nature of a formula.

Clarsach bheag: tri-oisinneach, is tri troighean anns an teud mhoir.
Clarsach mhor: tri-oisinneach, is tri troighean anns an teud bhig.

A little harp: three-cornered, and three feet in the big string.
A big harp: three-cornered, and three feet in the little string.

Possibly, however, in this formula the alliteration is deemed of more importance than the size of the harp.

The *fidheall*, the fiddle, is also a favourite instrument in the folk-tales, and possibly it, rather than the harp, is sometimes meant by the word *cruit*. It is usually referred to as the sweetest of all instruments, better even than the harp for bringing sleep to wounded men, and women in pain.

Ceol eadar fhìdhlean,
Leis an caidleadh fir ghointe
'S mnatha-siubhla;
Searganaich a' sior-ghabhail
Le farum a' chiuil sin,
A bha siorachd gu sior bhinn
An oidhche sin.

Music between fiddles,
That would bring sleep to wounded men,
To women in travail;

Ailing ever passing
At the sound of that music,
Which low-warbled ever-sweetly
Throughout that night.[1]

Curiously enough, however, in more modern folk-tales, the fiddle is usually associated with his Satanic Majesty and his children. For instance, the fire-ships which, until recently, were to be seen now and again in the Western Sea invariably had 'a long, lean black man on board, and he ever fiddling and dancing and laughing,' and the inference was that this was none other than Satan, leading his children to their own place. Again, when the ghosts of wicked Highland lairds who, in their lifetime, gambled away their estates in the London game-houses, appear in the hereditary mansions, they are always heard playing the fiddle and cursing the ace of spades. Probably the stricter section of the Reformation clergy were responsible for the idea that fiddling and wickedness went hand in hand. Having made up their mind to discourage secular music, they naturally banned the instrument most popular at the time. Harping had practically died out, and piping had not as yet caught on, and thus the poor fiddle had to bear the full brunt of the persecution.

While we might expect to meet with the harp and the fiddle in the folk-tales, it seems rather strange to meet with the organ,[2] and especially in the *ruitheanna*, the runs, which are probably the oldest parts of the tales. In the 'Knight of the Red Shield' we are told that 'never a trick that could be done with the organ of the monks but the heroes could do'; and in at least two versions of the 'Slim Swarthy Champion' it is said both of the hero himself and of the rival harpers: *Sheinneadh iad puirt is uirt is orgain*, 'They could sing (or play) tunes and chants and organs.' The association of the organ with monks and chants seems to

[1] *West Highland Tales*, ii. 462.

[2] According to MacBain's *Dictionary*, the word was in use in the early Irish period of the language (from 1000 to 1200 A.D.).

suggest an instrument used in religious services. At any rate, it is unlikely that the Church, which identified itself so closely with folk-life in other respects, would be indifferent to the popular craze for instrumental music. The organ of the tales, if it really was an instrument, must have been of a primitive type—possibly the ancient Pan's Pipe in one of its stages of development towards the flute species. On the whole, however, the context suggests a special kind of music or of chanting rather than an instrument.[1]

In the *West Highland Tales* the writer has noticed but two references to the bagpipes. In the one case (the fairly modern tale of the 'Smith and the Fairies'[2]) we read of 'a sound of piping, dancing and joyous merriment'; in the other case (the 'Story of Conall Gulban'[3]) a Dunoon reciter tells of 'a hundred carts, and a hundred horses, and a hundred men, coming with food to the *amhusg*, . . . and a piper playing music behind them, with joy and pleasure of mind.' It must be remembered, however, that the reciters were in the habit (quite unconsciously, of course) of weaving the life and the things they knew into their tales. When they mention the pipes or the Jew's harp, as one reciter does,[4] they are drawing their colour from the life of the country in their own day; when they mention the *cruit* or *clarsach*, they are talking of something entirely outside their own experience, and all the more likely on that account to have been part and parcel of the original tale. It is worthy of note that in the most recent collection[5] of folk-tales (the large majority of which are, both in diction and in matter, of a more modern type than the bulk of the West Highland Tales) there is not

[1] In *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. ii. p. 276, we have '*Farch*, *farch-chiuil*, *fairchil*, a musical instrument, probably the lute.' In Eigg the word was *faircheol*, *fara-cheol* (the intensive particle *air* + *ceol*?), and was applied, not to an instrument, but to any kind of impressive or unusually sweet music. Mrs. Kennedy Fraser states that in the Middle ages *organum* was used to denote parallel concerted singing.

[2] *West Highland Tales*, ii. 59. [3] *Ibid.*, iii. 236. [4] *Ibid.*, ii. 236.

[5] Macdougall's *Folk-tales and Fairy Lore* (1910).

a single reference to the harp or even to the fiddle, though there are a good few references to music, and two or three to the pipes and the Jew's harp.

DEIRDRE

THE HIGHEST TYPE OF CELTIC WOMANHOOD

PART I

'I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore;
While I stand on the roadway or on pavements grey,
I hear it in the deep heart's core.'

W. B. Yeats.

In my ears the roar of the cataract, and before my eyes floats a vision of other days, and the mists of spirits departed.

By the still dark pools of the Etive, where the silvery salmon lies beneath the shadow of rocks, with tangle of glossy-leaved berry mingling its tendrils amidst the vivid green of evergreen mosses and delicate fronds of ferns. Above is the great tumbling 'Eas,' or waterfall, falling in foamy splashes on to the grey granite rocks below.

Here I see, as in a vision, the slender white feet of a queen darting hither and thither, swift as a swallow, on cool green lush of rushes, laid to form the carpet of her 'grianan' or summer bower. The long waving tresses of golden hair reach far below her waist; her eyes are like twin stars of deepest blue fringed with long black lashes. On her delicate cheek the colour comes and goes, like unto the rays of the sun reflected in the pool below; flaming like its setting when human eye rests upon her. On her low white brow is set the seal of knowledge, of wisdom, and of future vision. But beyond, and above all, the wealth of beauty that is hers, far surpassing the fairest of Erin's daughters, is virtue, gentleness, and truth.

In her eyes, dewy starred, rests a tear as yet unshed: for she knows, this child of destiny, that through her shall

come the sorrow of all sorrows, that shall involve a whole kingdom in bloodshed.

Kings must lose their lives for her. Warriors and clansmen be dragged down to their ruin. For her sake the walls of Eman Macha will smoulder in burning ruins, and a curse fall on the fair land of 'Ulladh.' And oh! Ochon a righ! the sorrow of all sorrows—that through her the three peerless Sons of Uisneach, Naoise, her beloved, Ainle, and Ardan, the sons of chivalry and strength, must die.

'Deirdre, or Deirdire, shall be her name.' Thus spoke old Cathbad the Druid, as he held her, a new-born babe, in his arms. 'For through her shall come sorrow and bloodshed to Erin.'

Here, where the dark waters of Loch Etive lie glistening in the sunlight, reflex of the bright steel of Naoise, Knight of the Red Branch, was enacted one of the greatest dramas the world has ever known.

There, where the towering rugged peaks of the Buachaile Beag and the Buachaile Mor raise proud summits to the skies, and the wooded shores of Loch Etive stretches away in the distance, Deirdre dreamed and sang. In her 'grianan,' above the great 'Eas,' and below the hill which takes its name from her 'An grianan,' she could shoot the stag from her window, and fish the salmon in the pool below. Here her memory, fragrant as a rose, dwells in loving remembrance.

Every spot of this entrancing Glen Etive is classic ground. In the old royal forest of Dal-an-Eas, or Dalness, Naoise, Ainle, and Ardan hunted the red deer, and startled the hind, the swift-footed bride, like Diana of old, by their side. But, we are told, at close of eve they bore her on their bucklers, lest her delicate feet should tire, down to their home by Loch Etive, sheltered by the magic 'Luis' or quicken trees.

Of all the wealth of legend and of song bequeathed to us from the brave old Fingalian days, and, as some aver,

even earlier song-cycles, nothing touches or quickens the imagination so much, to my mind, as this one, of the 'three sorrows of storytelling': the fate of Deirdre and the Sons of Usnach, so alive with human interest and beauty of idealism.

Deirdre stands out as the highest ideal ever conceived of Celtic womanhood, and, may I add, of any womanhood, prior to Christianity; as Oscar, the beautiful son of Ossian, reveals our best type of chivalry—the only one, save Bran, his faithful dog, whose death drew tears from the eyes of his naughty grandfather, Fionn.

Deirdre the Fair was daughter to Felim, or Fedelim, chief bard and favourite of Conor, or Conchubar, the usurper of the throne of Ulster. As to Naoise, of whose beauty, prowess, and fascination tales innumerable are told, I shall have more to say later on. Now it is to his gentle consort we must turn.

Far be it from me to do anything, in a brief sketch like this, except to touch very lightly on what I consider to be the beauties of character and the salient points in the story of my heroine.

W. B. Yeats places the date of Deirdre and the Sons of Usnach as being about one hundred to one hundred and fifty years before the great German epic of the *Niebelung-leid*, at least two hundred years before the romances of Charlemagne, and one hundred to two hundred years before Scandinavian mythology crystallised into shape.

Yet what a contrast between the courtly Naoise, and even the treacherous Conor, to King Olaf's wooing of 'Sigrid the haughty,' whose lands he coveted as being next his own. Sigrid, on learning from her goldsmiths that the ring sent to her by Olaf was of copper, not of gold, flies into a towering rage. When Olaf presents himself before her, she refuses his suit, saying, 'I hold to my gods, and my land'; whereupon the king smites her cheek with his mailed hand, calling her 'a withered old hag, a heathenish jade.' Truly ungallant conduct. Conor, at his

worst, raised neither hand nor word against Deirdre's own person.

The story of Deirdre, got in the far-off Hebrides by Dr. Carmichael, differs little from that translated by Lady Gregory from old Gaelic MSS. lying neglected for ages in the Dublin archives. As she herself so quaintly puts it: 'Indeed, if there was more respect for Irish things among the learned men that live in the College at Dublin, where so many of these old writings are stored, this work would not have been left to a woman of the house, that has to be minding the place, and listening to complaints, and dividing her share of food.' Lady Gregory's version, committed to writing a few hundreds of years ago, is much fuller and more detailed than Dr. Carmichael's version, whose life has been in the lips of the unlettered people, yet the essentials differ not at all—another proof, were one needed, of the extraordinary way in which our Highland, and indeed all Celtic peoples, have handed down orally from generation to generation long tales in prose and verse for hundreds of years. Neither do the more poetic versions of other learned Irish scholars show much difference.

In the accounts of the two former translators, the birth of Deirdre is foretold to Felim by Cathbad the Druid. Lady Gregory and others name him so; Dr. Carmichael's John, from whom he had the tale, calls him Calum, an altering of the unknown word for a known one which is apt to occur in folk-tales, and which Dr. Carmichael points out as having occurred in other places in this tale.

Felim at first disbelieves in the Druid's prophecy, as he and his spouse had given up all hope of offspring. However, on the birth of the wonderful 'child of destiny,' Cathbad again visits the house of the bard, and holding her in his arms, addresses her thus:—

'Let Deirdre be her name. Harm will come through her. She will be fairest of all the fair daughters of Erin. Heroes will fight for her; and kings go seeking her. O Deirdre! on whose account many shall weep, on whose

account many women will be envious. There will be trouble in "Ulladh" for your sake, fair daughter of Fedelim the Bard!'

This prophecy was pronounced at a great feast given by Felim in honour of the occasion, at which, we learn, King Conor and all his court were present, as also the Knights of the Red Branch, each in his bannered stall. These knights must have been the oldest order of chivalry on record. They possessed two houses. One, that of the 'Craobh Ruadh,' from whence their name, in which were kept the heads and weapons of their beaten foes; in the second, 'the Speckled House,' they kept their own swords and shields. One of their 'Geasan,' or vows of knighthood, as they were called, was that no insult offered to one of their order was to go unpunished, even although it occurred during a banquet at a friend's house. King Conor deemed it prudent, therefore, in times of peace, to have their weapons kept in the said 'Speckled House.'

As in most orders of chivalry, they were bound to defend the weak; never to permit or offer an insult to a woman; never to refuse the combat; never to break an oath, etc.

Some of their 'geasan' seem to us to be trivial enough. For instance, both Fergus Roy and Cuchullain took a 'geas' never to refuse an invitation to a banquet given by a good man, however humble. A fatal oath indeed, when we remember that it led to the death of the pick of the Red Branch Knights—the three Sons of Usnach. An oath, taken by Naoise, was, never to return to Erin except at the request of Fergus Roy, Conall Cearnach, or Cuchullain.

None of the Sons of Usnach could have been present at this banquet given by Felim, being then in their infancy. And Cuchullain was but a young boy, although a Knight of the Red Branch. From the description of Cuchullain's dress on another occasion, it may be inferred that this would have been the gala costume of the knights: 'A crimson five-folded tunic with a brooch of inlaid gold; a

white hooded shirt embroidered in red gold.' This reads to me a description of the ' Breacan-an-fheilidh.'

We are then at the feast of Felim, when the wonderful babe is borne in by singing maidens on a flower-decked cushion. In the words of Aubrey de Vere :—

> 'Thereon a little maiden-wonder lay,
> Unlike all babes beside in mien and hue,
> Bright as a lily bud at break of day
> That flashes through the night's unlifted dew.'

When Cathbad the Druid had pronounced his fatal prophecy, fear fell upon most of those present, many of whom clamoured for her instant death. Amongst whom none were louder in clamouring than the usurper of Fergus Roy's throne, Nessa's treacherous son, King Conor.

But Conall Cearnach, Fergus, and Cuchullain—child as he was—rose from their bannered stalls, and holding their shields over the lovely child, cried with one voice, ' She shall *not* die.'

As we know, Conall the Victorious ' ne'er was known to walk in any counsel save his own.' When Conor observed the attitude of his knights, with his usual astuteness he at once altered his tone. Calling to him a highly cultured lady of the Court, Lavarcum by name, he ordered her to take away with her the little ' babe of destiny ' to a lonely island, only united to the mainland at low tide by a sort of causeway. There they were to dwell, far from the knowledge of all men, until such time as Deirdre should reach woman's estate. Lavarcum was to teach her all knowledge and accomplishments fitting for her future position in life as his own queen, always provided that the promise of her beauty be fulfilled. None to have access to her, under severe penalties, except, of course, the Lady Lavarcum and Cathbad, who was to instruct her in religious lore.

That she more than fulfilled all human expectation we all know. To mere physical beauty was added an intelligence and power of assimilating knowledge given to few. Of her it is told that ' there was not a blade of grass, not

a green root, a flower, or a tree, not a bird that sang, nor a star showing in the heavens, but of which she had knowledge.' Add to this that she was the fairest and the gentlest woman in all Erin, that she had the sixth sense of future vision, a nobleness and tenderness of heart unsurpassed, and it is little to be wondered at, I think, that 'Heroes should fight for her, or kings come seeking her from afar'; nor that 'Brave heroes, the bright candles of the Gael, should lose their lives because of her.'

Contrast with her the Norse heroines, Brunhild and Gudrun, and they appear nothing but screaming viragoes.

Although the king forbids her all companionship, the young maidens of her own age defy his commands, in pity for her loneliness, running across the causeway at low tide to bring her news of the outer world, with presents of fruit and flowers.

There is one very beautiful incident related of the maiden that gives the keynote at once to her thirst for knowledge, and her warm, impulsive heart.

In the course of her religious instruction she suddenly asks the Druid: 'Tell me, who made the stars, the firmament above, the earth, the flowers, both you and me?'

To which the old man, awed, replied: 'God. But who God is, alas! no man can say.'

Upon this, Deirdre impetuously snatches his Druid wand from his hand, breaks it in two, flinging it far out on to the waters as she says: 'Ah! there shall come One in the dim future for whom all your Druid spells and charms are nought.'

Seeing a tear steal down the cheek of her friend, for the Druids knew, although dimly, of the coming of our Lord, and felt that their Druid faith would then be doomed, Deirdre flings her arms round his neck, kissing him on both cheeks.

The first meeting of Deirdre and Naoise varies slightly in different versions; yet I find no essential differences in any. There are more details of place and circumstances

given in some, or fuller description, but nothing that does not dovetail one into the other with ease. Lady Gregory and Dr. Carmichael's narrative in the earlier stage are almost word for word.[1] Those of Eugene O'Curry and other scholars differ in a few instances. The hunter who loses his way one night of storm and darkness, falling down exhausted at the door of the secret dwelling. His cry of distress three times repeated: 'If there is any one within, open in the name of the Sun and the Moon.' Lavarcum's vain efforts to ascribe the voice to the homing wild birds, or, in fact, anything rather than to a man's voice in distress. Deirdre's rescue and succour of the fallen hunter, and his astonishment at her marvellous beauty, which wrings from him the following thought, spoken aloud: 'If Naoise, the Son of Usnach, did but cast eyes on her once she would not long remain hidden here.' With his description of the hero, given in answer to Deirdre's questioning about the Sons of Usnach, 'the eldest of whom is head and shoulders above all the men of Erin, with the colour of the raven's wing on his hair, the darkest blue of the skies for the hue of his eyes, the red glow of health on his cheeks, and whose brow is like the snow'; answered by Deirdre: 'As you describe these men, I myself have seen them in a vision of the night, hunting upon these hills,' is almost the same in the accounts taken from the Highland and Irish Gaelic. So also is the passing of the three Sons of Usnach beneath the hill where Deirdre and her young companions were staying, the sweet voices of the three floating up to where the maid watched. That marvellous singing voice of Naoise, that cast a spell upon all things; so much so, that, we are told, 'the very cows gave a double quantity of milk on hearing it,' and which Deirdre likens to the deepest wave of the sea as it breaks upon the shore.

Forgotten is her fear of the king,—love this fearless

[1] Perhaps this is due to the fact that Lady Gregory's version is collated with Dr. Carmichael's and other versions, her aim being to give the complete story from the best sources.

fair one had ever denied him. Nor would she ever consent to wed him. With swift, nimble motion she races down the face of the hill, drawn by the irresistible spell of the voice, and feeling, as she sees the receding form, that it is fate itself which is escaping her. She cries out impetuously: 'A Naoise! am beil thu 'gam fhagail?' (Naoise! art thou leaving me?).

'What voice is that?' the hero quickly asks.

Both Ainle and Ardan, well aware of the identity of the beautiful destined Queen of Ulster, make answer: ''Tis but King Conor's swans crying out upon the lake.' And this proves that the lake is there. They endeavour to hasten their brother's steps, dreading the consequences should he turn round and see the lovely vision.

'A Naoise! A Naoise! am beil thu 'gam fhagail. A Naoise! A Naoise! am beil thu 'gam fhagail. A Naoise! A Naoise! am beil thu 'gam fhagail.' At the third time repeated call of Deirdre Naoise turns, and those two most perfect beings stand face to face.

What a moment that must have been when soul met soul in one all-conquering glance! Naoise, in the quaint words of the story, 'gave his love to Deirdre above every other creature,' a love which lasted to the hour of his death, in spite of some other seeming defections.

As to Deirdre, the light which illumined her beautiful starry eyes was never quenched until the hour when she closed them in death on the cold breast of her beloved, away there in Eman Macha.

Lady Gregory tells us of how Naoise determines to win her for his own, despite the king's authority and the remonstrances of Ainle and Ardan, who foresaw in part the wrath of King Conor.

'Although harm should come,' answers the fiery Naoise, 'I am willing to live in disgrace for her sake the rest of my days.' To this other versions add a few more picturesque details. Naoise lacked the daring moral courage of the Lady Deirdre. He hesitates, and tries

to remember that she is the destined bride of the king. Deirdre here reminds him that she never has given and never will give her consent to be King Conor's bride. Plucking a red rose from a bush near by, she hands it to him with these words: 'As a Knight of the Red Branch you cannot refuse the gift, except for a valid reason.'

Naoise's last scruples vanish; he takes the rose, and raising the maiden high upon his shoulders, sets out with her that night, accompanied by Ainle and Ardan. They took with them three times fifty men, three times fifty women, three times fifty horses, three times fifty greyhounds, and moved round Erin from Essa to Beinn Etair, and east again until King Conor's designs made it incumbent on them to fly for safety to Alba, which was the heritage of Usnach, called by Macpherson the Lord of Etha.

(*To be continued*)

BOOK REVIEWS

The Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by Rev. DONALD MACLEAN, author of *The Highlands before the Reformation; Duthil: Past and Present; The Literature of the Scottish Gael*, etc. etc. New Edition. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1913.

Dugald Buchanan, at the time schoolmaster and catechist in Rannoch, and well known as a competent Gaelic scholar, was chosen to superintend the issue of the translation of the New Testament into Scottish Gaelic made by the Rev. James Stewart of Killin. While in Edinburgh on this duty the poet attended classes in the University, Natural Philosophy and Anatomy among them, and his signature is to be seen in the University Album. During his stay in the capital he conducted religious services among the Highlanders of Edinburgh, and published, in 1767, eight Religious Poems, amounting in all to only about 1590 lines. To the little volume were appended 'The Sum of Saving Knowledge,' 'The Shorter Catechism,' 'The Commandments,' 'The Lord's Prayer,' and 'The Creed.' It has always been said that these formed only a portion of the author's poetical compositions, and that he intended to publish others later. This may well

have been the case. But in 1768 fever raged in Rannoch; the poet caught the infection and succumbed, at the age of fifty-two. Buchanan left behind him an autobiography, a portion of which was written as early as 1741, and continued in the form of a diary down to 1750. This treatise appears to have been written in English. The late Rev. John Campbell of Iona used to say that to his personal knowledge John Mackenzie, editor of *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, translated the Autobiography for Messrs. Maclachlan and Stewart, Edinburgh, from an English MS., which was at one time in the possession of the Countess of Leven and Melville. Internal evidence seems to prove that Dugald Buchanan could not have written this piece of Gaelic prose as we now have it, while John Mackenzie may well have done so.

Whether these eight poems constituted the whole of the author's poetical labours or not, we may regard them as in his own judgment his best, fitly conveying the burden of his message to his fellow-countrymen. His reputation as a poet rests on them, and will rest securely as long as the old tongue is read. Buchanan was fairly well read in English literature: he names in his Diary several volumes that influenced him. His poems also contain adaptations from Watts, and especially from Young's *Night Thoughts*. But to this man of genius who thought so deeply, felt so strongly, and gave such lucid expression to his varying moods, the Book of Books was Holy Scripture, and next to it the Book of Nature as unfolded to him in the scenery of his native Perthshire. Highlanders have had many eminent men who composed religious verse from Columba downwards, several of them since Buchanan's day. There were, *e.g.*, Dr. James Macgregor of Nova Scotia and Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, who, in intellectual stature and in gifts of clear and forcible exposition, approached our author closely, if they did not quite equal him, while in depth of knowledge and breadth of view they surpassed him. Then there was John Morrison of Harris, who, in poetic insight, subtlety of intellect, and power of self-analysis was fully his equal, if not his superior. But in sublimity of conception, in grandeur and felicity of expression, none of these distinguished men can fitly compare with the Rannoch poet. And even if we extend the comparison to the foremost of our secular poets, Dugald Buchanan will not suffer. It is true that his poems do not contain the wealth of diction or the variety of imagery found in such poets as Alexander Macdonald and Duncan Macintyre, but neither of these, at his very best, can show greater command of apt diction to express his ideas, or of felicitous imagery to deck them in all their beauty and all their majesty. Like his own 'Hero,' Buchanan has his ideas and language ever under control: the secular poets, even the very best of them, are too often the slaves of their wealth of vocabulary, 'intoxicated with the exuberance of their own verbosity.'

The Highland people took to Buchanan from the first. Seven editions were printed by 1799. The Rev. Allan Sinclair, of Kenmore, named his edition, printed in 1875, the twenty-first. If one were to regard the dif-

ferent dates on the title-pages of these hymns as separate editions, one would count them as over forty. Certain it is that no other volume of Gaelic poetry was printed so often, or so much read. Their influence on the religious life of the Highland people must have been incalculable. One could have wished that the teaching of our author was expressed in more genial form. The man by all accounts was of a humane, genial disposition, but it is possible that in such case the literary power might suffer.

The poems of Buchanan have been in continuous circulation since 1767. They have been translated into English prose by Sinclair, and into English verse by Mr. L. M'Bean. Individual poems have appeared in English verse from time to time—'The Skull,' *e.g.*, by Professor Blackie in *The Language and Literature of the Highlands*. The reader may ask, Whence, then, the need for a new edition? Mr. Maclean's volume supplies the answer. It is probably the case that no subsequent editor was as competent a Gaelic scholar as Dugald Buchanan himself. In any case, the author's edition of 1767 was prepared with great care, and printed with great accuracy. Later editors, through ignorance or carelessness, allowed errors, in increasing numbers, to creep in. The diction and syntax are so plain and clear that few blunders were possible on that score. But several are met with. A rare word *eal-ghris*, 'deadly paleness,' 'horror,' was removed in favour of *fearr-dhris*, 'bramble-briar,' which the context shows was absurd :—

Ar leam gu faic mi'n eal-ghris air,
Cur a chath sheirbh gu crìch.

Some grammatical forms were in use in 1767 which have since fallen into desuetude. The literary form *no co* = 'until,' is used twice by Buchanan, in the guise of *nach gur*, *nach gu'm*. We have dropped the *no* (*nach*) and changed the *co* into the phrase *gus an do*, sometimes crushed into *gus 'na*. The tense particle *do*, which we preserve in interrogative and negative clauses, is dropped or changed to *a* in affirmative past tenses. In Buchanan's day this *do* with past tenses was common, and the poet frequently used it. The editors commonly ignored the particle, to the detriment of the line. They also allowed printers' errors to multiply shamelessly. Further, there never was an attempt made to elucidate Buchanan's text by a single note.

Mr. Maclean's volume goes far to correct and make good such blunders and deficiencies as these. He is a great admirer of Buchanan, and a devoted student of Gaelic in its older and later forms. He provides us here with the text of 1767, with only such changes in orthography, etc., as Buchanan himself, in his judgment, would have made if he lived now. We have thus, to begin with, a reliable text, and, as Gaelic texts go, singularly free from printers' blunders. A short and clearly written introduction, giving the main facts of the poet's life with a judicious survey of the contents of the poems, precedes the text. Following it are voluminous notes, theological, etymological, grammatical, with parallel quotations from various authors;

interesting in most cases, illuminating always. To the notes Mr. Maclean has added two *excursus*, one on what is called *vocalic auslaut*, on which is based the law of Initial Aspiration, and the other on *nasal auslaut*, which explains the phonetic feature known as *eclipsis*, a feature more common in Irish than in Scottish Gaelic. The contents close with a Vocabulary which will be found serviceable by many readers. The volume is in every way suitably got up, and no one who desires to study Dugald Buchanan with intelligent comprehension can afford to be without it.

So far as one can judge from a somewhat cursory reading, the volume is, for a first edition, singularly free from error. But a more careful examination would no doubt trace a few. Mr. Maclean writes the title-page in English, 'The Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan.' The title of the 1767 edition is in Gaelic, 'Laoidhe Spioradail le Dùghall Bochannan.' The word *laoidh* of old meant 'lay,' secular or sacred, but since the middle of the eighteenth century at least, the meaning in Scottish Gaelic is restricted to religious verse. DON. MACKINNON.

Teutonic Myth and Legend. By DONALD A. MACKENZIE. London: The Gresham Publishing Company. *7s. 6d. net.*

The author re-tells and reviews the mythological and heroic stories of the Teutonic peoples, beginning with the Icelandic Eddas and Sagas, and then passing to Beowulf, the Hamlet of Saxo, the Volsung tales, the Nibelungenlied and the Dietrich lays. An interesting introduction deals with the origin and growth of the various legends and poems, and provides the necessary historical settings. Like his raiding ancestors, Mr. Mackenzie invades Teutondom occasionally to claim some of its treasures. He holds that the Grendel part of *Beowulf* is not Teutonic at all. It is not found in the North German circle of romance, but resembles closely a type of story very common in Scotland. The hero slays a male monster (Grendel), and then has to deal with the mother (the Cailleach Mhor). Similarly 'Finn-mac-Coul' and other Celtic heroes have frequently to fight the demon-mother after slaying the demon. 'The inference is,' says the author, 'that the poet who gave the epic its final shape in England had a British mother, or, at any rate, came under the influence of British intellectual life. Like Shakespeare, who utilised old plays, he may have refashioned an earlier Anglian poem, appropriated its geographical setting, and infused the whole with the fire of his genius.' Mr. Mackenzie also challenges the Teutonic claim for the 'Seven Sleepers' Legend which Rydberg was supposed to have traced to a Scandinavian birthplace. He shows that there are 'Seven Sleepers' legends in Scotland, of which Rydberg had no knowledge, and points out that they resemble the Arabian type more closely than the Scandinavian. Finn-mac-Coul is contrasted with Sigurd, and an illustration from an old wood carving shows the latter biting his thumb to obtain knowledge. The author finds many points of contact between Celtic and Teutonic

folk-lore, but emphasises the fact that the former is mainly of matriarchal character, while the latter is patriarchal. 'The deities of the Teutons are controlled by a Great Father, and their elves by a King. The deities of the Celts are children of a Great Mother, and their fairies are ruled over by a Queen.' Students of comparative mythology will find much to interest them in this volume, and to those unfamiliar with the distinctive giant lore of Scotland, Mr. Mackenzie's review of it will be welcome, especially as he considers that it differs from both Irish and Norse material in essential particulars, and belongs to the class of lore once prevalent throughout the British Isles. D. M'C.

Sea Tangle. Edited by Mrs. KENNEDY FRASER and KENNETH MACLEOD. London and New York: BOOSEY and Co. 5*s. net.*

This charming volume is a further instalment of the treasures of Hebridean song collected by Mrs. Kennedy Fraser and Kenneth MacLeod. The first volume, the *Songs of the Hebrides*, met with an immediate and well-deserved success, and the present book, consisting of about half a dozen songs, is not merely a supplement to the earlier volume, but is meant to be the first part of the second volume of the *Songs of the Hebrides.* We extend to it and to its two editors a very hearty welcome.

The songs are chiefly of the heroic ballad type. To the musical archæologist these old airs, now fortunately recovered, will have a powerful fascination. They have come down from the days when the folk really believed in the old Celtic mythology,—when the heroes and heroines of their sagas were not, as in later times, mere misty, vague forms, but real awe-inspiring personalities; and when wedded to their simple native airs, as here, these old ballads have a powerful, romantic charm and an irresistible appeal, not to the Celt only, but to all lovers of the truth and sincerity that generally characterises the art expression of primitive races. It has been widely believed that the old Celtic heroic ballads were sung to monotonous and uninteresting chants, but here we find that quite on the contrary these ballads have much force and fire, and remarkable artistic fitness in the wedding of air to words. Deirdre's lament is a most powerful musical setting of the old poem in Dr. Carmichael's *Deirdre*, where the heroine anticipates evil from the apparently friendly message of the Irish King, by instinctive apprehension of tragedy to come. Naoise, in each alternate verse, tries by gay words to dispel her dark Cassandra-like forebodings, but all in vain. Many composers and poets have tried well, but with indifferent success, to recreate the Deirdre tale of old-world sorrow: here is the real article, for truth and inevitableness of phrasing, both in words and music, far superior to halting modern efforts. We suppose the explanation is, that the folk singers and composers believed what they sang of, and so gave their efforts the note of sincerity and moving power. The *Sea Tangle* song is of more recent date than the heroic ballads. The subject is parallel with the theme

of the old Scottish ballad 'Binnorie.' Two sisters love the same man, and the one is jealous to the point of murder of the other. Mrs. Kennedy Fraser has woven together very skilfully at least two songs dealing with this story. The whole setting is intensely dramatic, and the despairing death cry 'U-vil, U-vil' of the drowning sister harrows the listener's soul and haunts the memory.

But for the inspired expression of brooding melancholy, we give the palm to Lady Clan Ranald's lament for the death of her daughter in the wonderful song entitled 'Caristiona.' Its overwhelming emotional power is only equalled by its masterly simplicity. Alike in the curve of its musical phrases, the remarkable rhythm, and the passionate, heart-broken words it is truly remarkable among Gaelic lyrics of grief. One winter's evening it was our fortune to hear it crooned over by the fireside by Mr. K. MacLeod. Its weird strains haunted our memory and imagination for weeks and months. At last it became a question whether the time of release from 'Caristiona' would ever arrive. To get rid of the obsession we went to hear Madame Gerhardt give her magnificent renderings of the art songs of Germany. Madame Gerhardt sang divinely, but to our astonishment—after the concert was over, the haunting Gaelic lament returned again and refused to be banished.

One song of a very lively and lightsome nature, 'Hame cam our Bottachan,' relieves the noble sadness of the majority of this collection.

'Fàillte na mór-thir' is a very melodious air, superior to the form published some years ago. We have heard a very similar variant from a Kintail Highlander in London. But we prefer the chorus word 'Heterinn' to 'Hetigan' given here.

It is needless to say that Mrs. Kennedy Fraser's accompaniments are of first-rate quality. There is not a meaningless chord for the pianist all through the book. Her accompaniments interpret or anticipate the inner meaning and soul of the words and music, intensifying their message, and fusing all into a musical unity, and a veritable thing of beauty. We could imagine that many of these airs and accompaniments could be very effective if expanded into orchestral arrangements.

We confess to a feeling of disappointment in finding that the grand old heroic ballad 'Brataichean na Féinne' is not included in this volume. But we have no doubt it will find a place in a further issue. Through the kindness of the editors, it has already been heard on mod platforms with much appreciation. There are phrases in it that awake reminiscences of Wagner's 'Flying Dutchman' music. Indeed in several of these Gaelic songs there are phrases and passages that curiously suggest Wagnerian characteristics. It may be that great musicians think alike; at any rate the composers of these beautiful Gaelic airs were great musicians by virtue of innate and original talent, that owed nothing to the technical training of the schools.

We should add that excellent English translations, well adapted for singing, have been made by the editors. These songs of the people have

an irresistible appeal to certain moods of the mind. When the poet Longfellow wrote his well-known poem the 'Day is Done,' he sings the praise of the simple and heart-felt lay as a cure for the sad and restless spirits. He would have read to him, not the works of the grand old masters, whose mighty thought suggest 'life's endless toil and endeavour'—they could have no soothing power for the wearied, restless mind—but rather—

> Read from some humbler poet
> Whose songs gushed from his heart
> As showers from the clouds of summer,
> Or tears from the eyelids start.
>
> Who through long days of labour,
> And nights devoid of ease,
> Still heard in his soul the music
> Of wonderful melodies.

So it may be that an important element in the charm of the old Celtic songs lies in their very remoteness from the busy fret of the modern world. This, along with their intrinsic merit and freedom from all tawdry ornament or cheap vulgarity, makes them a perennial joy to all possessed of musical taste and discernment. M. N. MUNRO.

Songs of the Mountain and the Burn. ALICE C. MACDONELL. London: John Ouseley, Limited. 2*s. net.*

This volume of poems shows the heart of the writer to be in the Highlands, and her mind to be filled with love of her native land and of the things that belong to it. There are many moods and phases represented, and a large range of feeling is shown. Some of the poems are fine spirited pieces —telling of the Gordon Highlanders at Dargai or of the Highland Brigade in South Africa,—some are pathetic and moving, and tell of loved scenes in Lochaber, of departed friends and dreams, of memories and tales of the past. All are sincere and spontaneous. The authoress has undoubtedly gained in power of expression since she published her former volume. Miss Macdonell's poems show strongly her Gaelic inheritance, and are sure to be appreciated by Highlanders; especially will they come home to those who have left the Highlands. The book is prettily bound and well printed.

Buile Suibhne: The Adventures of Suibhe Geilt. Edited with Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by J. G. O'KEEFE. Irish Texts Society. London: David Nutt.

Suibhne, son of Colman Cuar, king of Dal Araidhe in the north of Ireland, having incurred the just anger and the curse of the saint, Ronan Finn, was doomed to wander naked through the world, flying in madness like a bird of the air. The fulfilment of this extraordinary doom began at the battle of Magh Rath, for when Suibhne heard the three mighty shouts

raised by the hosts 'he looked up, and darkness, and fury, and giddiness and frenzy, and flight, unsteadiness, restlessness and unquiet filled him, likewise disgust with every place in which he used to be, and desire for every place which he had not reached.' When he left the battle 'it was seldom that his feet would touch the ground, and when he did touch it, he would not shake the dew from the top of the grass for the lightness and nimbleness of his step.' Except for a short interval of sanity, Suibhne continued in this distressful condition till a violent death set him free. In the course of his flying frenzy, he not only traversed most of Ireland but also visited Scotland, where he spent six weeks in the Cave of Donnan in Eigg. Thereafter he went to Carrick Alastair, and on leaving it 'went over the wide-mouthed, storm-swept sea until he reached the land of the Britons.' It is possible that by Carrick Alastair is meant Ailsa Craig. The Britons are those of Strathclyde. Islay and Kintyre are also mentioned. Apart from the unique and uncanny nature of Suibhne's adventures, the chief interest of the tale lies in the many beautiful descriptive touches which occur in the poems interspersed through the text. Mr. O'Keefe's text is based on a paper MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, written between the years 1671 and 1674. He has another version written about 1721, and also a *résumé* of the tale written by Michael O'Clery in 1629. Though these MSS. are so modern, the editor, by reference to the *Book of Aicill*, shows that the tale of Suibhne's madness at the battle of Magh Rath goes back at least as far as the ninth or tenth century. In addition to giving a summary of the tale, the introduction has notes on the MSS., a discussion of the battle of Magh Rath and its significance, and short notes on Suibhne Geilt, and the origin of the tale of his *buile*. The glossary extends to fourteen pages, and there are indexes of persons and places. Mr. O'Keefe's translation is good, though not faultless. This is one of the most interesting of the volumes that have been issued by the Irish Texts Society.

The Poem-Book of the Gael: Translations from Irish Gaelic Poetry into English Prose and Verse. Selected and edited by ELEANOR HULL. London: Chatto and Windus. Pp. xxxviii+370. 6*s. net.*

This delightful collection covers the whole range of Irish poetry ancient and modern. The translations begin with extracts from *Saltair nan Ram*, the most important religious poem of early Ireland. Sections of ancient pagan and Ossianic poems follow (pp. 53-99). Early Christian poems (pp. 105-161) are followed by Poems of the Dark Days of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries (pp. 165-224). Religious poems of the people (pp. 229-254), Love Songs and Popular Poetry (259-334), and some Lullabies and Working Songs (pp. 337-344) complete the text. The notes, which conclude the book, contain much and relevant information. The introduction is written from a fulness of understanding which makes it worthy of careful study. Miss Hull has in this book done a service which will be long appre-

ciated alike by those who read Gaelic and by that great majority who do not. The fine initial letters are from Irish MSS. in Dublin and the British Museum.

The Celtic Annual Year-Book of the Dundee Highland Society. Edited by MALCOLM C. MACLEOD. Dundee: Leng and Co. 6*d. net.*

This is an interesting little publication of sixty-three pages, with articles in Gaelic and English by a number of authors—several of them well known in the Highland field of literature—and profusely illustrated, chiefly with portraits of prominent men, whose biographies are shortly given. Among these is John Murdoch, whose services to the Highlands will be the more appreciated as time goes on. It is pitiable to think that the monument to him, of the unveiling of which an account is given in this booklet, has already been blown down and broken.

There are articles in Gaelic—good, racy, and idiomatic—and in English. Perhaps the most amusing is 'Anns a' Choille Bheithe.' That some of the Gaelic articles have appeared elsewhere does not detract from our pleasure at meeting them here. It is particularly appropriate that such a full number of the Society's *Annual* should appear this year when the Mòd is to visit Dundee.

The picture on the cover—a Highland clansman returning after the battle—is from a picture by John Pettie, R.A., and the initial letters, with two or three exceptions, are from Dr. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica.*

Gadelica: A Journal of Modern Irish Studies. Edited by THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. 2*s.* 6*d. net.* Subscription per vol. 6*s.* 6*d.* post free.

The contents of No. 3 of this journal are varied, and must appeal to all who are interested in the study of the modern language. Articles begun in the former numbers are continued, and there are several complete articles on which the authors have spared no pains or research to make text and notes complete and useful. Some are in English, others in Gaelic printed in Roman type, while others again are in Gaelic printed in Irish characters.

The names of Miss Eleanor Knott, Dr. O. J. Bergin, and T. F. O'Rahilly, as well as others connected with *Gadelica*, show that the magazine is a serious production, and that good work will be found in its pages.

QUERY

Can you or any of your readers say what is the exact signification of the word *riabhach*, when applied to a man as a distinguishing adjective? It appears to have been frequently used in this way in former times. It is

common in old records under the forms *Reach*, *Reoch*, etc., and occurs as a sept name among the Farquharsons. I have seen it translated 'freckled,' but I cannot find that meaning for it in any Gaelic dictionary. Does it not rather refer to the colour of the hair, as with *dubh*, *ruadh*, etc.? J. F. Campbell, however, in one of his West Highland Tales, translates it 'swarthy,' and I rather think it bears that signification in Ireland when applied to a person. MacGilleriabhaich.

NOTE

The Name of Sir Lancelot du Lake

The name of Lancelot is sometimes found in French romances in the decapitated form of *Ancelot*, and this, of course, is a diminutive, like 'Jacquelot' and 'Michelot.' It is clear that those authors who wrote *Ancelot* supposed that they were dealing with a diminutive of the Old French word *ancel* (Latin, *ancilla*), and that L was the definite article, and therefore negligible at will. It was with these ideas in mind that the Viscount Hersart de la Villemarqué proceeded to identify Sir Lancelot du Lake with a Somersetshire prince named Maelwas.

Villemarqué gave two reasons for this identification:—

1. Maelwas, like Lancelot, abducted King Arthur's wife.
2. 'Maelwas'=*mael*+*gwas*, and means 'young servant,' *i.e. Ancelot.*

The Welsh representative of Irish *mael*, 'a tonsured slave,' is not 'mael,' however, but *moel*. The Welsh 'mael' in proper names represents Maglo, and that means a prince, or hero: compare the name of Magilos, the Gaulish king who opposed Hannibal, according to Polybius, III. xliv. Hence Maelwas<Maglouas='young prince,' or 'young hero,' and not 'jeune serviteur.' Consequently the opinions of the nineteenth-century savant, and of the twelfth-century French romance writers, are equally unreliable.

The name of Lancelot is Germanic in origin. Its deuterotheme is really *-loth*, but that had to be accommodated to French pronunciation, in the same way as the names Loth>Lot, and Goth>Ghot. The prototheme Lance- was a dissyllable, and it corresponds with the first part of the name of Lancing, a village in Sussex, which is connected with Wlencing, the youngest son of Ælle, the first recorded king of that province. 'Wlencing' presents an infected form of *wlanc*, 'proud'; cf. *wlenceo*, 'pride.' The same root appears as prototheme in many Germanic personal names, *e.g.* Wlanc-beorht, Wlanc-heard, Wlanc-thegn. Among names which rejected the initial *w* before *l* are Lanc-fer, Lanc-pertus and Lancino; and an intermediate form between *wl* and *l*, namely *hl*, appears in Hlanc-wulf, the name of a moneyer under Edward the Confessor.

The deuterotheme is the same as that in 'Vinoviloth,' a Gothic name recorded in the *Getica* of Jordanes (*scr. c.* 560). The use of this deuterotheme was exceptionally rare among the Anglo-Saxons, and the only instances in insular writings that are known to me are 'Unlot' and 'Guingelot.' Both names come to us through Norman-French writers. 'Unlot' represents *Huniloth*, and it occurs in Domesday Book, *v.* Ellis, *General Introduction to Domesday Book*, Index B. 'Guingelot' represents *Winge-loth* (*cf.* Winge, Winge-drud, Wing-beald), and is the name given to Wade's boat by Walter Map (*c.* 1175); *v.* '*De Nugis Curialium*,' ed. Wright, 1850, ii. 17. Various meanings are assigned in early glossaries to the Old English 'loða'; *sc. lacerna, paludamentum, sagulum*, 'a (military) cloak'; it is also equated with Latin *lōdix*, 'a blanket,' and with Anglian *scēte*, 'a sheet.'

'Lancelot,' therefore, represents Lancé-loth < Wlanci-loth.

ALFRED ANSCOMBE.

A CONCISE OLD IRISH GRAMMAR

By JULIUS POKORNY, Ph.D., LL.D. (Vienna)

(*Continued from page* 288)

Rounded Quality of Consonants in Enclitic Syllables

§ 61. In syllables following the accent non-palatal or depalatalised (§ 65) labials and gutturals take *u* colour before unstressed vowels, followed by palatal consonants. In the ninth century such *u* coloured consonants become broad.

e.g. *menmuin*, later *menmain* (fr. **menmeni*) dat. sg. of *menmae* 'mind.'

§ 62. Non-palatal or depalatalised consonants take rounded quality before final (*j*)*u* or unstressed vowels, followed by rounded consonants.

e.g. *dorus* 'door' fr. **dhvorestus*, *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.

In this way *u* quality may spread from one syllable to another.

e.g. *merugud* 'going astray' fr. * *mero-śagitus*.

Labials and gutturals are depalatalised (cf. § 65 note 2).

e.g. *-epur* 'I say' fr. **eks-bherō*.

Note.—Palatalisation is often analogically reintroduced, e.g. in *-epiur* 'I say' (besides regular *-epur*), where the palatal quality of the *p* is due to the influence of other forms, like *-e(i)pir* 'he says.'

§ 63. Labials and gutturals preserve their rounded colour before unstressed vowels, followed by neutral aspirated *l*, *n*, *r*.
e.g. *mlegon* 'milking' fr. **mlgono-*; *anacol* 'protection.'

Note.—*u* colour is often introduced from forms, where the *u* was regular. e.g. *mlegun* may owe its *u* to the influence of the dative *mlegun* (fr. **mlgonōi*) or the genitive *mleguin* (§ 61).

§ 64. With exception of the instances given above (§§ 61-63), and some other cases,[1] all non-palatal or depalatalised consonants in unstressed syllables have taken neutral colour.

Note 1. *o* in lost final syllables and the junction-vowel *o* in compounds act like *a* upon the preceding consonants (cf. § 48). Unaccented *u* and *o*, on the one side, and unaccented *o* and *a* on the other side, have fallen together during the Old-Irish period, though traditional writing in most cases preserves the older vowel. Cf. § 57 *c*.

e.g. *-tíagat* 'they go,' arch. *tu-thēgot*, fr. **-(s)teighont*; *cinaid* fr. **kʷinutes*, nom. pl. of *cin* 'guilt.'

On the rounded quality of consonants preceded by an epenthetic vowel, see §§ 60, 70, 71.

Note 2. Old final single *r*, when preceded by *u*, has kept *u* colour.
e.g. *siur* 'sister' fr. **svesur*, **svesōr*.

Depalatalisation of Consonants in Enclitic Syllables

§ 65. While in stressed syllables consonants followed by stressed *e*, *i*, are regularly palatal, consonants often give up their palatal quality in unstressed syllables in order to take broad or rounded (§§ 61, 62) quality.

[1] e.g. *flechod* 'moisture' fr. **vlikʷo-to-m*, *feronn* (§ 57, c. 2) *biror* 'water-cress fr. **gʷeru-ro-*, *irud* 'great dread' fr. **iru+ōto-*. (O. Ir. *úath.*)

In syllables following the accent, when the originally palatal unaccented vowel (no palatalisation took place, where the palatal vowel goes back to a dissyllabic vowel-group, in which the first vowel was non-palatal, e.g. *assae* 'easy' fr. **ad-stha-jo-*) remains, the preceding consonants are depalatalised under the following conditions:[1]—

1. *r, l, n,* before which a consonant has been lost (§ 109) are regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *túar(a)e* 'food' fr. **tò-g^{u}r-ijā.* (The same root in Lith. *gìria* 'drink.')

2. Labials (also *mb*) and gutturals (also *ng*) are depalatalised after a preceding *á, o, ó, u, ú, úa,* and take broad—under certain conditions (§§ 61, 62), rounded—quality.

e.g. *subae* 'gladness' fr. **su-bio-*; *ungae* fr. Latin *uncia.*

Note 1.—There is much uncertainty as regards the treatment of aspirated gutturals preceded by *u,* e.g. *lugae* 'oath,' besides *luige.* The problem is very complicated.

Note 2.—Labials and gutturals even if preceded by *ĕ, ĭ,* or *a,* are depalatalised, if *(j)u* or an *u* coloured consonant follows. See § 62.

3. Labials and gutturals preceded by short *a* seem to have been treated like dentals, but it is very probable, that depalatalisation may have taken place in other cases as well. Owing to the lack of material the question is very hard to solve.

It seems that unaspirated gutturals and labials were depalatalised also before *jo,* followed by preserved non-palatal consonants.

e.g. *-accat* 'they see' fr. **-àd-cjot, *àd-k^{u}isont*; but *ro-laimethar* 'he dares' fr. **-lamjetro*; **laigem,* superlative of *becc* 'small' fr. **lagjam *lagisamos.* (The form **laigem* must have existed, for it is only from the influence of **laigem* that *laigiu,* a bye-form of the regular comparative *l(a)ugu* can be explained. Cf. § 62 and note 2 above.)

4. Dentals are depalatalised, if preceded by *a, á, ó, úa,* and by

[1] These rules do not apply to epenthetic vowels which have only been developed after the loss of the unaccented vowel, e.g. *do-aissilbi* 'assigns' fr. **do-assl̥bi* fr. **to-àd-selbi.*

short *o* that has not been changed to *u* (§ 116), provided the old palatal vowel was followed by a non-palatal consonant.

e.g. *adall* 'visit' fr. **ad-ello-n*, but *cuilén* 'whelp' fr. **koligno-s*.

The depalatalisation in *doraid* 'difficult' fr. *do*+*réid*, *soraid* 'easy' fr. *so*+*réid*, *sonairt* 'strong' fr. **so-nerti-s* is due to generalisation from cases, in which *so-* and *do-* were regularly followed by a non-palatal consonant, e.g. *solus* 'clear' fr. *so*+*lés* 'light,' *sobus* 'good manners fr. *so*+*bés* 'custom.'

Exception.—If the palatal vowel goes back to an old (*i*) *j* (or *es*, *is*)+vowel no depalatalisation can take place.

e.g. *cailech* 'cock' fr. **kaljākos*, *flaithem* 'prince' fr. **vlatjomos*.

5. Old consonant groups are depalatalised as a rule. [If the last consonant of the group is a labial or guttural, it may take *u* colour under certain conditions (§§ 61, 62).]

e.g. *orbae* 'inheritance' fr. **orb(i)jom*, *derbae* 'certainly' fr. **derv(i)jā*.

Exception.—Some groups, as *nd*, *nt* are liable to palatalisation and treated like single *d*, *t*; similarly *dg* (*dc*) seems to have been treated like single *g*. For the treatment of *mb*, *ng*, see above (2).

e.g. *bindius* 'melody' fr. **bindissus*, older *bhndistus*; *dobidcet* 'they throw.'

Other instances, as *cuimlin* (*com*+*lín*) 'equal number' may perhaps be explained like *athchor* (§ 55 II., exception), where a final consonant of the prefix has taken the quality of the initial consonant of the stem.

On the quality of consonant groups containing *r*, *l*, *n* which had become syllabic after the loss of a final or syncopated vowel, see §§ 60, 66-71.

6. Old final consonants which have not been lost have become broad. Only single *r* has remained palatal after *i*. Cf. further § 64 note 2.

e.g. *-bert* 'he carried' fr. **bhert*; *dét* 'tooth' fr. **dnt*; but *athir* 'father' fr. **(p)ətēr*.

Quality of Consonants in Syncopated Syllables, which have developed an Epenthetic Vowel before them

§ 66. In unstressed syllables old or secondary consonant groups containing *r, l, n*+consonant which had become syllabic after or before a syncopated vowel are liable to palatalisation before a remaining palatal vowel without regard to the quality of the syncopated vowel.

e.g. *do-ài̯ssi̯lbi* 'assigns' fr. **do-assl̥bi* **to-ad-selbi; ingainte* 'marvellousness' fr. **ingn̥te,* **in-gnāthe*; but in a stressed syllable: *selbaid* 'he possesses.'

§ 67. But if such a consonant group follows a labial, the whole group is regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *comard(a)e* 'sign' fr. *com*+*airde,* **-are-vidjom.*

§ 68. These rules (§§ 66, 67) are very often crossed by analogy.

e.g. *tabairte* (gen. sg. of *tabart* 'giving') fr. **to- bertjās,* with the palatal *rt* restored from the dat. acc. sg. *tabairt,* besides the regular (§ 67) *tabartae.*

§ 69. The consonants which have been brought together by syncope with following syllabic liquids (the depalatalisation of which has been discussed in §§ 66, 67), are palatal or non-palatal according to the quality of the syncopated vowel. Only labials are regularly depalatalised.

e.g. *do-aissilbi, tabartae,* with palatal *ss* and broad *b.*

The broad *n* in *sonairte* is due to the influence of *sonairt.* Cf § 65, 4.

§ 70. Consonants followed by an epenthetic vowel are rounded without regard to the quality of the syncopated vowel if the next syllable begins or began with a rounded consonant. Cf. § 62.

e.g. *cethorcha* 'forty,' older **cethorcho,* fr. **cethr̥cho,* **kʷetrukomts.*

But sometimes neutral colour is found, especially when the following consonant had become broad, e.g. *ecolꝏ,* later *ecalsa,* gen. sg. of *eclais* 'church.'

§ 71. Labials have in most cases neutral colour before a syllalbic *l, r, n* without regard to the quality of the syncopated

vowel. There are, however, still traces of an older rounded quality.

e.g. *-comollnither* (fr. **com-lān-ītīro*) 'is fulfilled' beside *-comalnither.*

Voicing of Spirants in Unstressed Syllables

§ **72.** The dental spirant *th* is voiced

(*a*) in the interior of a word if flanked by vowels and separated from the stressed syllable by at least two unstressed syllables.

e.g. *sonartaidir* compar. of equality of *sonairt* 'strong'; but *lérithir* compar. of equality of *léir* 'diligent.' (Old suffix **-tris.*)

(*b*) if final and unstressed.

e.g. *peccad* 'sin' fr. Latin *peccatum.*

§ **73.** The spirant *ch* is voiced only if palatal or rounded.

(*a*) regularly in the interior of a word, if flanked by vowels.

e.g. *àtlugud* 'giving thanks,' verb-noun of *atlùchur.*

(*b*) if final and unstressed.

e.g. *tossug* dat. sg. of *tossach* 'beginning'; *tegl(a)ig* gen. sg of *teglach* 'family.'

§ **74.** Vowel-flanked or final *f* in unstressed syllables is regularly voiced (written *b*).

e.g. *felsub* fr. Latin *philosophus.*

Note.—Final *f* appears also in stressed syllables as *b* e.g. *sib* 'you' fr. **sif, *svisvi.*

Unvoicing of Final Aspirated *g*

§ **75.** Final aspirated non-palatal *g* is regularly unvoiced in stressed and unstressed syllables.

e.g. *tech* 'house' fr. **tegos*; *teglach* 'family' fr. **tego-slougon.*

The voiced spirant is often analogically restored, e.g. in *mag* 'field' through influence of the genitive *maige.*

De-aspiration of Final Consonants

§ **76.** In words of more than one syllable final *l, n* in

unstressed syllables are de-aspirated (e.g. they become *ll, nn*), if the same syllable begins with *r, l* or *n*.

e.g. *Conall* fr. **kuno-valos*, *imbliu* 'navel,' gen. *imblenn*. (Ending **-jon-os*.)

Working of the Accent in Proclitic Syllables

§ 77. In proclitic groups of three or more syllables, the vowel of the second (and fourth) syllable is often thrown out.

e.g. *nírbo* (=*ní robo*) *fír* 'it was not true'; *mainbed* (fr. *manibed*) *maith* 'if it would not be good.'

Note.—In words beginning with a vowel the initial vowel is sometimes elided; so the article *inna* appears occasionally as *na*. Dissyllabic words are often preserved as such, e.g. *iter* 'between' fr. **ēter*, **enter*.

§ 78. In proclitic monosyllables the final vowel is often elided in hiatus.

e.g. *t'esséirge* (fr. **to esséirge*) 'thy resurrection.'

§ 79. Initial *s* and post-vocalic *th* are dropped.

e.g. *ama(i)l* 'as,' dat. sg. of *samail* 'likeness' used as a conjunction; *fri* 'towards' fr. *frith*, **vṛt*.

§ 80. Initial *t* becomes voiced.

e.g. *do thech* 'thy house' (but *t'esséirge*); *dar a chenn* 'for him'; but *torunn* 'for us').

§ 81. All consonants have a tendency to become broad.

e.g. *ad-, ar-*, pretonic forms of the prepositions *àith-, àir*; *ind* (instead of **iund*) dat. sg. masc. and neutr. of the article, fr. **sindō(i)*.

Exception 1. Initial consonants keep their quality in proclitic monosyllables ending in a vowel before a connected proclitic word beginning with a vowel. In this case final *e* is changed to *i*; final *o* is changed to *u*.

e.g. *lia* 'with his' (fr. *le*+*a*); *fua* (analogically *fo a*) 'under his.'

Exception 2. In proclitic words of two syllables the initial consonant of the first or second syllables may under certain conditions preserve their original quality. In this case the vowels are treated like vowels in ordinary enclitic syllables (cf. § 57).

Initial vowels appear before palatal consonants as *i*, before rounded consonants as *o*. e.g. *iter* 'between' fr. **enter*; *ocus* 'and.'

Note.—The original palatal quality may be restored by analogy or through the influence of a following accented word beginning with a palatal vowel.

e.g. *is* 'he is' (fr. **esti*) instead of **as* through influence of following personal pronouns beginning with *e* or *i* (*isé* 'he is,' *issí* 'she is,' etc.).

Exception 3. Final *o*, *u* resulting from *o*, *u*+*v* are regularly preserved and the preceding consonants remain rounded. The vowel appears as *o* or *u*.

e.g. *du* (*do*) 'thy' fr. **tov*(*ī*); *nu* (*no*) 'or' fr. **nov*(*e*), **ne-ve*.

§ 82. While proclitic words of two syllables usually preserve their final syllable, e.g. *ceta-bí* he feels' (fr. **knta-*) some words seem to have dropped their final vowel already before the loss of final syllables in stressed words (§ 42).

e.g. *-bo* 'he was' (copula form) fr. **bov'*, besides the stressed form *boí*, fr. **bove*, older **bhove*.

§ 83. Long vowels and diphthongs are shortened[1] and treated like short vowels.

e.g. *cách* (fr. **kʷākʷos*) 'every one,' proclitic *cach* 'every'; *cét-faid* 'sense,' but *ceta-bí* 'he feels.'

Changes in Consonant Groups resulting from Syncope

§ 84. De-aspiration.

(*a*) If two aspirated homorganic consonants, or an aspirated and an unaspirated homorganic consonant are brought together by syncope, the result is an unaspirated (originally double) consonant. See § 86.

e.g. *itech* (fr. *ith-thech*) 'granary,' *nerto* (fr. **nert-tho*, **nertatho*, **nertātous*) gen. sg. of *nertad* 'strengthening.'

[1] Some words, e.g. the particles *ma* 'when,' *ni* 'not,' *no* 'or,' etc., could show several grades of stress according to their position in the sentence; hence they may have preserved occasionally their original quantity or may have been even lengthened (§ 54). But as a rule the respective vowels remain short.

(*b*) *th* and aspirated *d* give up their aspiration after a preceding *l*, *n*, *s*, or before a following *s*.

e.g. *ingantach* 'wonderful' fr. **ingn̥tach*, **in-gnāthach* *fáitsine* 'prophecy' (fr. **vātistīnjā*).

Note.—*th* and aspirated *d* are sometimes analogically restored before *s*. In this case the dental is afterwards assimilated to the following *s*, e.g. *fáithsine* (through influence of *fáith* 'prophet') and *fáissine*.

(*c*) Aspirated *n* and *l* give up their aspiration before *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, *r*, and after *r*, *l*. Cf. § 76.

e.g. *an(n)sae* 'difficult' (fr. *an-assae*); *comairl(l)e* 'counsel.'

(*d*) *th* has given up its aspiration after *ch*, though in most instances *th* has been analogically restored.

e.g. *nechtar* 'either of two,' fr. **nekʷo-teros*.

Note.—The de-aspiration of *d* and *th* (§ 84 *b*) takes place also before emphasising pronouns and affixed demonstrative particles beginning with *s*.

e.g. *in chrut-sin* 'in that way'; *do-adbat-som* 'he shows' (instead of *doadbad som*, older **doadbaid som*; the palatal quality of the *d* has been given up under the influence of the following neutral *s*; cf. § 55 II. exception). The deaspirated depalatalised *t* spread analogically to other forms.

e.g. *do-ḋiat* 'brings down' (instead of *do-ḋiid* fr. **to-di-ved-et*).

§ 85. Voicing of consonants.

Aspirated unvoiced consonants when coming together by syncope with other (not homorganic) voiced consonants have a general tendency to become voiced in accordance with the following consonant. Cf. § 86 *c*.

e.g. *aidber* 'reproach' fr. **ate-bhero-*; analogically also *aithber*; *toibned* 'let him pursue,' fr. **tophenneth*, older **to-svendne-to*.

§ 86. Unvoicing of consonants.

(*a*) When a voiced (aspirated or unaspirated) consonant comes

by syncope next to a homorganic, unvoiced (aspirated or unaspirated) consonant, the result is an unvoiced, unaspirated (§ 84) consonant.

e.g. *adgláiter* 'thou addressest' (fr. *ad-glá'd-ther*); *trócaire* 'mercy' (fr. **tróg-chaire, *trougo-karijā*).

(*b*) Aspirated *d* is unvoiced and deaspirated (§ 84) before or after *s*. The sound of this unvoiced *d* (written *t*) does not exactly correspond to the sound of the O. Ir. tenuis *t*, as the former is pronounced with much less expiratory breathing.

e.g. *ad-suidi* 'he keeps back,' but *ní astai* (fr. **-ad-sodejet*) 'he does not keep back.'

(*c*) Aspirated voiced consonants, when coming by syncope next to other (not homorganic) unvoiced consonants, have a general tendency to become voiceless in accordance with the *following* consonant. But as this tendency is very often crossed by analogy, we find *d* and *th*, *g* and *ch*, *b* and *ph* (*f*) written side by side in the same word.

e.g. *adaig* (*g* from **ch*, § 73 *b*) 'night,' gen. sg. *aithche* or *aidche* (the *d* through influence of the nominative).

(*d*) Voiced aspirated consonants are unvoiced even if *preceded* by another unvoiced consonant, though by analogy the voiced spirant has been restored almost in every case.

e.g. *macthe* 'childish,' though the suffix is *-de* fr. **-adjo-*.

§ 87. Assimilation in consonant groups resulting from syncope.

(*a*) On the assimilation of homorganic consonants, see §§ 84 *a* and 86 *a*.

(*b*) Aspirated *d* and *th* have been assimilated to a following *ch*, though only sporadically.

e.g. *súaichnid* 'well known' fr. **su-aith-chnid*, older *-gnid*.

§ 88. Influence of aspirated *s*.

(*a*) In the interior of simple words aspirated *s* (=*h*) vanishes without leaving any trace.

e.g. *t(a)ige* nom. plur. of *tech* 'house' fr. **tegeṡa*.

(*b*) In compounds aspirated and (originally) vowel-flanked *s* unvoices every consonant with which it is brought together by syncope.

e.g. *impu* 'about them' fr. **ɱbhi-śōns*. Cf. § 65, note 2.

Note.—As proclitic words are treated together with the following accented word like one word, an *s* that thus gets into an intervocalic position is aspirated and treated like *s* in compounds.

e.g. *intathir* 'the father' fr. **sind(o)śathir* ; *intśillab* 'the syllable' fr. **sind(ā)śillaba*.

Unvoicing of Initial Aspirated *b*

§ 89. Initial aspirated *b* has a tendency to become *f*, not only at the beginning of a stressed or proclitic word but also occasionally (the conditions are not quite clear) at the beginning of a syllable. Much disturbance has been caused by analogy.

e.g. *findfadach* 'happy' fr. *find*+*bethach*.

Double Consonants

§90. All intervocalic single consonants have become aspirated. Therefore all unaspirated intervocalic consonants must have been originally double consonants. Such double consonants may originate from the assimilation of homorganic or non-homorganic consonants. (Cf. §§ 84, 86 and 91 ff.) Hence the orthographical peculiarities mentioned in § 1, 1, 3, and 4. Already during the O. Ir. period the double stops and double *s*, *m* were reduced to single consonants, though the orthography preserves mostly the older state of things. In consonant-groups the scribes prefer to write single consonants.

Note.—Unaspirated consonants, even where not resulting from a double consonant, have been very similar in sound to double consonants; their pronunciation was not only stronger but also more prolonged than that of the aspirated consonants. Hence they are frequently doubled in writing.

The custom of writing *p, t, c* for the unaspirated media is taken over from the British Celts.

e.g. *ardd, art, ard* 'high' fr. **ardvos*, older **r̥̄dhvos*; cf. further § 1, 2.

Genealogical History of Old Consonants and Consonant-Groups not resulting from Syncope

§ 91. Initial and intervocalic Indo-European *p* and *ph* disappear in O. Ir. But *opn* appears in O. Ir. as *úan*, *ps* as *ss*, *pt* as *cht*.

e.g. *il* 'much' fr. **pelu*, Got. *filu*.
té 'hot' fr. **tepens*, Lat. *tepens*.
súan 'sleep' fr. **sopnos*, Welsh *hun*, Lat. *somnus*.
cacht 'bondmaid' fr. **kaptā*, Welsh *caeth*, Lat. *capta*.

§ 92. I. E. *b* and *bh* become *b* in O. Ir. *bn* becomes *mn*, *bt* is treated like I. E. *pt*. *bn* immediately followed by the I. E. accent becomes *p*(*bb*).

e.g. *cob* 'victory' fr. **kobo-*, O. Norse *happ*.
domun 'world' fr. **dubnos*, Lith. *dùgnas*.
gop 'beak' fr. **gob-nòs*; cf. O. Slav. *zobati* 'to eat.'
drucht 'dew' fr. **drub-tus*, cf. Engl. '*drip, drop*.'

Cf. further §§ 5, 7, 84-89.

§ 93. I. E. *t, th* appear in O. Ir. as *t* (aspirated *th*, *d* §§ 5, 7, 72). *tb* becomes *p*(*bb*). On *tl, tn, tr*, see § 109. *tn* immediately followed by the I. E. accent becomes *t*(*t*). *t-t* in the interior of a word becomes *ss*, in composition *t*(*t*).

e.g. *roth* 'wheel' fr. **rotos*, Welsh *rhod*; cf. Lat *rota*.
frepaid 'healing' fr. **vr̥t-bhutāi* (*frith-buith*), dat. sg. of *frepaid*.
áit(*t*) 'place' fr. **pōthnì-*; cf. Skr. *pāthas* 'place.'
indrisse 'invaded' fr. **-ret-tio-*, past participle of *rethid* 'runs.'
frit(*t*)*obart* 'opposition' fr. **vr̥t-to-bhertā*; cf. *berid* 'carries.'
tc becomes *c*(*c*), *tg* becomes *c*(*gg*).

e.g. *frec(c)or* 'cultivation' fr. **vṛt-koros* (*frith-cor*).
frecrae 'answer' fr. **vṛt-gṛja* (*frith-gaire*).
ts becomes *ss*.
e.g. *inress* 'that I should invade' fr. **-ret-s-ō*.

§ 94. I. E. *d, dh* appear in O. Ir. as *d*. Cf. §§ 5, 86.
On *dr, dl, dn*, see § 109.
dc becomes *c(c)*, *dg* becomes *c(gg)*.
e.g. *-aicci* 'sees' fr. *-àd-cī*, **ad-kʷis-et*.
fo-acaib 'leaves' fr. **-àd-gabjet*.
db becomes *p(bb)*, *ds* becomes *ss*. *d-t* in the interior of a word becomes *ss*, in composition *t(t)*. On *d-tl*, see *gíall* § 98*b*.
e.g. *apaig* 'ripe' fr. **ad-bhogis*; cf. *bongid* 'cuts.'
-messur 'that I should judge' fr. **med-s-ōr*; *midithir* 'judges.'
mess 'judgment' fr. **med-tu-s*, but *at(t)ach* 'prayer,' fr. **ad-tek-om*.
dm in composition becomes *mm*.
e.g. *ammus* 'attempt' fr. **ad-med-tus*.
dn immediately followed by the I. E. accent becomes *t(dd)*.
e.g. *trot* 'quarrel' fr. **trud-nò-*; cf. Lat. *trūdō*.
d(h)v becomes *d*.
e.g. *dorus* 'door' fr. **dhvorestus*; cf. Lat. *forum*.

§ 95. I. E. *g, gh, ǵ, ǵh, g h*, initial *gʷ* before *u*, postvocalic *gʷ* before *j* and before consonants in the interior of a word become *g* in O. Ir.
This *g* is usually preserved in O. Ir. (cf. §§ 75, 88).
e.g. *grith* 'heat' fr. **gʷhṛtus*; cf. *gor* 'heat'; Lat. *formus*.
guth 'voice' fr. **gʷutus*; cf. Greek *βοή*.
On *gl, gn, gr*, see § 109.
ǵt (*gt, ǵht*, etc.) becomes *cht*; *gs* (*ǵs, ǵhs*, etc.) becomes *ss*.
e.g. *adacht* 'he drove' fr. **ad-ag-to*; *ad-aig* 'drives.'
dotías 'that I should come' fr. **to-(s)teighsō*.
gn immediately followed by the I. E. accent becomes *c(gg)*.
e.g. *boc* 'soft' fr. **bhug-nò-*, Skr. *bhugná-*; cf. Anglo-Saxon *boga*.

§ 96. Initial I. E g^u (except before u) and g^u in the interior of a word (except in the cases mentioned in § 95) become b in O. Ir. Consonant groups beginning with such a b are treated like other b groups (§ 92).

e.g. *imb* 'butter' fr. **ņg^{u}ņ*, Lat. *unguen*.

mná (gen. sg. of *ben* woman) fr. **g^{u}nās*; *ben* 'woman' fr. **g^{u}enā*.

§ 97. I. E. *k*, *kh*, *ḱ*, *ḱh* and *k^u* appear in O. Ir. uniformly as *c* (*ch*, *g*, §§ 5, 73).

e.g. *cét* 'hundred' fr. **ḱṃtòm*, Welsh *cant*, Lat. *centum*.

sechur 'I follow' fr. **sek^{u}ōr*, Lat. *sequor*.

crenaim 'I buy' fr. **k^{u}ri-na-mi*, Welsh *prynaf*; cf. Skr. *krīṇāmi*.

On *kr*, *kl*, *kn*, see § 109.

kt (*ḱt*, *ḱht*, etc.) appears as *cht*, *ks* (*ḱs*, *ḱhs*, etc.) as *ss*

e.g. *ocht* 'eight' fr. **oḱtō*, Welsh *wyth*, Lat. *octo*.

coss 'foot' fr. **koksā*, Lat. *coxa*.

Before a media *ks* becomes *k*. This *k* is assimilated to a following media. Hence *ksb*, *ksd*, *ksg* give *k*(*gg*), *t*(*dd*), *p*(*bb*).

e.g. *ecal* 'afraid' fr. **eks-galo-*.

epert 'saying' fr. **eks-bher-tā*.

On *ksr*, *ksl*, *ksn*, *ksm*, see § 109.

Also before a tenuis the *s* of the group *ks* seems to have been lost before *ks* could become *ss*.

e.g. *echtar* 'outside' fr. **eks-tro-*, Welsh *eithr*.

In compounds, which were formed at a time when *ks* had already become *ss*, *kst* appears as *st*.

e.g. *escarae* 'enemy' fr. *ess*+*carae* friend.

The same occurs in younger compounds before medials.

e.g. *esbae* 'something useless' fr. *ess*+*báe*. (One expects **epae*.)

kn (*ḱn*, *ḱhn*, etc.) immediately followed by the I. E. accent becomes *c*(*c*).

e.g. *cnocc* 'hill' fr. **knok-nò-s*, Old High German *hnac*.

§ 98. (*a*) Initial *s* (cf. § 79) remains intact before vowels, and in the groups *sk* (*sḱ*, *skh*, etc.) *skr*, *sl*, *sm*, *sn*, *sr*; *sp* becomes

s; *spr* becomes *sr*; *spl* becomes *sl*; *skn* becomes *sn*; *sv* becomes *s*.

[Aspirated initial *sp, sv* become *f* (*b*, § 85); aspirated initial *s(p)l, s(k)n, sr* becomes voiceless *ll, nn, rr*, also written *ṡl, ṡn, ṡr*.

e.g. *mo fiur* 'my sister' fr. **svesōr*; *fuilliucht* 'footprint' fr. *fo*+*sliucht*].

sen 'old' fr. **seno-*, Welsh *hen;* cf. Lat. *senex*.

scíath 'shield' fr. **skeitom*, Welsh *ysgwyd*; cf. Lat. *scutum*, fr. **skoitom*.

smir 'marrow' fr. **smeru-*, Welsh *mer*; Old High German *smero* 'grease.'

Initial *st(h)* seems to become *s* or *t*; initial *str* becomes *sr*; initial *stl* becomes *sl*.

e.g. *tíagu* 'I go' fr. **steighō*, Greek στείχω.

sellaim 'I gaze' fr. **stilpnomi*, Welsh *syllaf*; cf. Greek στιλπνός 'shining.'

srath 'valley' fr. **strato-* Welsh *ystrad*; cf. Lat. *stratus*.

(*b*) Intervocalic *s* becomes *h* and falls out (§ 88).

In the interior of a word *st* becomes *ss*, *str* remains, *stn* becomes *sn*.

e.g. *ross* 'promontory' fr. **pro-stho-m*; cf. Skr. *prastha-s* 'plateau.'

lestar 'vessel' fr. **lestrom*, Welsh *llestr*.

In the interior of a word *sv* becomes *f* (*b* § 74). *sk* (*sḱ, skh*, etc.) remains, *sm, sn*, become *mm, nn*.

e.g. *sephainn*, third sg. perf. of *sennid* 'plays,' fr. **sesvone*.

(The *nn* in *sennid* 'plays' is due to the influence of *sennid* pursues).

am (cf. §81), 'I am' fr. **esmi*, Greek εἰμί.

bronn (gen. sg. of *brú* 'belly') fr. **bhrusnos*; nom. sg. fr. **bhrusō*; cf. Engl. *breast*.

sesc 'barren' fr. **sisk-vo-* Welsh *hysp*; cf. Zend *hišku-* 'dry.'

In the interior of a word *sl* (also *sl* from *d-tl*, § 93) becomes *ll*. *sr* becomes after short vowels *rr*, after long vowels probably *r*, in composition *rr*.

e.g. *giall* 'hostage' fr. **gheid-tlo-*, Welsh *gwystl*; cf. Lithuanian *geidžiù* 'I ask.'

coll 'hazel' fr. **koslos*, Welsh *coll*; cf. Engl. '*hazel.*'

cír 'comb' fr. **kēsro-*; cf. Church Slavonic *česati* 'to comb.'

dírruidiguth 'derivation' fr. *dí*+*sruithigud*, fr. *sruth* 'river.'

§ **99.** I. E. voiced *s* (=*z*) appears only before the medial explosives. *zg* and *zb* become *dc* (*dgg*), *db* (*dbb*) with aspirated *d*; *zd* becomes *t* (*dd*).

e.g. *medg* 'whey' fr. **mizgā*, Welsh *maidd*; cf. Greek *μίσγω*.

gat 'withe' fr. **ghazdhā*, Lat. *hasta.*

§ **100.** I. E. 'spirantic' *th* (=þ) appears after *k*, *ḱ*, *kᵛ*, as *t* (tenuis), after *kh*, *ḱh*, *gh*, *ǵh* as *d* (media).

e.g. *art* 'bear' fr.- **ṛkþos*, Lat. *ursus*, Greek *ἄρκτος*.

in-dé 'yesterday' fr. **-ǵhþjes*, Welsh *doe*, Greek *χθές*.

§ **101.** I. E. *l* appears in O. Ir. as *l* (*ll* § 76).

e.g. *aile* 'another' fr. **aljos*, Welsh *ail*, Lat. *alius.*

ln, *ls* (also *lpn* §98*a*) becomes *ll.*

e.g. *ad-ella* 'visits' fr. **-pelnāt*; cf. Lat. *ap-pellere.*

all 'rock' fr. **palsos*, older **pl̥sos*; cf. O. Norse *fjall* 'mountain.'

§ **102.** I. E. *r* appears in O. Ir. as *r.*

e.g. *biur* 'spear' fr. **gᵛeru*, Welsh *ber*, Lat. *veru.*

rs, *rp*, *rgs*, *rds* become *rr*, probably also *rks* and *rts.*

e.g. *as-òrr* 'that I should strike' fr. **eks-òrg-s-ō.*

carr 'chariot' fr. **kr̥so-*, Welsh *car*; cf. Engl. *horse.*

rgt, *rkt*, *rgst*, *rkst*, *rst* become *rt*(*t*); *rsk* (*rdsk*, *rtsk*) becomes *rc*(*c*).

e.g. *as-òrt* 'he slew' fr. **eks-òrg-t.*

tart 'thirst' fr. **tarsto-* older **tr̥sto-*; cf. Engl. '*thirst.*'

§ **103.** I. E. *m* appears as *m*; final *m* had become *n* already in Gaulish.

e.g. *muir* 'sea' fr. **mori*; Lat. *mare.*

nert n-athar 'strength of the father' fr. **nerton atros*, older **nertom pətros.*

mb (cf. § 96) is mostly preserved in accented syllables except before consonants; otherwise it has become *m*(*m*); *mbr* (*mbl*?) becomes *br* (*bl*?).

e.g. *imb-radud* 'meditation,' more common *im-radud*, fr. **imbi-rāditus*, **n̥bhi-rōdhitus*.

cobraith 'help' fr. **combrith*, **kom-bhr̥tis*.

md becomes *nd*, *mv* becomes *v*, and is treated like that (§ 102).

In later compounds *mv* becomes aspirated *b*.

e.g. *condelgg* 'counsel' fr. **com*+*delg*.

do-cóïd 'he went' fr. **-kom-vāde*.

cubus 'conscience' fr. **kom-vid-tu-s*.

On *mt*, *mk*, see § 108.

§ 104. T. I. *n* appears as *n* (*nn*, § 76).

noíb 'holy' fr. **noibo-*, O Persian *naiba* 'good.'

nb becomes *mb*, *nl* becomes *ll*; *nr* becomes *rr*.

e.g. *imb* 'butter' (cf. § 96).

ellam 'ready' (*en-lam*); cf. *adblam* (*ad-fo-lam*).

eirr 'fighter in a chariot' fr. **en-rid-s*; cf. *réidid* 'rides' fr. **reideti*.

nd is mostly preserved in accented words; in proclitic words it becomes regularly *nn*.

e.g. *find* 'white' fr. **vindo-*, Welsh *gwynn*.

inna nom. pl. fem. of the article, fr. **sindās*.

ndn, *ntn*, *ngn*, *nkn* become *nn*.

e.g. *ad-greinn* 'pursues' fr. **-grendnet*.

srennid 'snores' fr. **srenk-na-ti*; cf. Greek *ρέγκω*.

On *ns*, *nt*, *nk*, *nkt*, see §§ 107, 108.

Nasal Vowels

§ 105. I. E. *r̥ l̥* appear before vowels and *j*, *v* as *ar al*.

e.g. *marb* 'dead' fr. **mr̥vo-*, Welsh *marw*; cf. Lat. *mortuus*.

talam 'earth' fr. **tl̥mō*. (Cf. *arathar* § 60.)

Before consonants *r̥*, *l̥* appears as *ri*, *li* (*re*, *le* § 113) *ar*, *al* or *ra la*.

e.g. *breth* 'carrying' fr. **britā*, older *bhr̥tā*.

all 'rock' fr. **plsos* (cf. § 101).

frass 'shower' fr. **vr̥stā*, cf. Greek *ἔρση* 'dew.'

I. E. $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$ appear probably as *ar al* or *rá lá*.
e.g. *ard* 'high' fr. **$\bar{r}$dhvos*, Lat. *arduus*.
lán 'full' fr. **$p\bar{l}$nos*. Skr. *pūrṇaḥ*.

r, *l* that have been developed from vocalic *ṛ*, *ḷ* are treated before consonants like consonantal *r*, *l*.

§ 106. I. E. *m̥ n̥* appear before vowels and *j*, *v*, *m*, as *am*, *an*.
e.g. *ban* (gen. pl. of *ben* 'woman') fr. **g^{v}n̥om*.
sam 'summer' fr. **sm̥o-*, Engl. *summer*.
ainm 'name' fr. **n̥mn̥*, Welsh *enw*; cf. Lat. *nōmen*.

Final *m̥ n̥* and *m̥ n̥* before the tenues *t*, *k* become *em*, *en*. *m̥*, *n̥* before the medials *b*, *d*, *g* become *im*, *in* (*em*, *en* § 113); *n̥gsm* becomes *émm*. (Cf. *céimm* § 145).
e.g. *grend* 'beard' fr. *grn̥dhā*; cf. O. Norse *gron* moustache.
imb 'butter.' (Cf. §§ 96, 104.)
deich 'ten' fr. **deken*, older **deḱm̥*, Lat. *decem*.

On *m̥ n̥* before *k*, *t*, *s*, see §§ 107, 108.

I. E. $\bar{m}$ $\bar{n}$ appear probably as *am an* or *má ná*, but certain instances are scarce.

m, *n* that have been developed from vocalic *m̥*, *n̥* are treated before consonants like consonantal *m*, *n*.

Compensatory Lengthening of Vowels

§ 107. *m*, *n* have fallen out before *s*(*s*) (the *ss* may come from *gs*, *ks*, *ds*, *ts*, or *t*-*t*). It does not matter whether *m*, *n* have been developed from a vocalic *m̥*, *n̥* or not. Preceding short vowels are lengthened; *a* becomes *é*.
e.g. *géis* 'swan' fr. *gansis*; cf. Germ. *gans*.
céssaid 'suffers' fr. **kensāti*, older **kenttāti*; cf. Lithuanian *kentéti*.
but *nsk*, *nst* give *sc*, *st*.
e.g. *cosc* 'chastising' fr. **kom-sk^{v}-om*, Welsh *cosp*.

The vowel in the prepositions *en-*, *com-*, remains short before *s*.
e.g. *cosnam* 'contesting' (*com*+*sním*), *esnaisse* inserted (*en*+*snaisse*).

Old final *-n̥s* has become *-ās*, hence O. Ir. *-a*.
e.g. *ríga* (acc. pl. of *rí* 'king') fr. **rēgn̥s*.

§ **108.** *m*, *n* have fallen out before *t*, *k*, *cht* (from *kt* or *pt*), which appear as *t*(*dd*), *k*(*gg*), *cht*. It does not matter whether *m*, *n* have been developed from a vocalic *m̥*, *n̥* or not. All preceding short vowels are lengthened before *cht*, while only *a* and *e* are lengthened before *t*, *k*. *a* becomes *é*.

e.g. *ét* 'jealousy' fr. **janto-*, cf. Welsh *add-iant* 'longing.'
éc 'death' fr. **enkus*, older **n̥kus*; cf. Lat. *nex*.
richtu 'reaching' fr. **rinktjō*, **(p)ro-inktjō*; *ro-icc* reaches.

but *cocath* 'battle' fr. **kom-katus*, with short *o*.

§ **109.** After a vowel in old groups consisting of a stop followed by *r*, *l*, *n* the stop drops out, while the preceding vowel is lengthened. Only in the old groups *tr*, *br* (or *thr*, *bhr*), the consonant's remain. *akr* becomes *ér*, *akn* becomes *én*.

e.g. *ár* 'slaughter' fr. **agros*, Welsh *aer*; cf. Greek *ἄγρα*.
dér 'tear' fr. **dacru*, Greek *δάκρυ*.
fén 'wagon' fr. **vegno-*; cf. O. Norse *vagn*.
srón 'nose' fr. **sroknā*, Welsh *ffroen*; cf. *srennim* § 106. (With a different vowel-gradation.)
én 'bird,' fr. **petno-*, Welsh *edn*; cf. German '*Feder*.'

but *críathar* 'sieve' fr. **kreitro-*, Welsh *crwydr*; cf. O. Engl. *hridder*.
dobor 'water' fr. **dubro-*, Welsh *dwfr*; cf. O. Slavonic *dibri* 'valley.'

The treatment of *b*(*h*)*l* is doubtful.

In the old groups *ksr*, *ksl*, *ksn*, the *s* has fallen out before *ks* could become *s*. Hence compensatory lengthening takes place just as in the groups *kr*, *kl*, *kn*.

e.g. *énairt* 'weak' fr. **eks-nertis*.

(To be continued)

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